

**Sir John Lubbock's Hundred Books**

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**CAPTAIN COOK'S  
THREE VOYAGES ROUND  
THE WORLD**

WITH A SKETCH OF HIS LIFE

EDITED BY

**LIEUTENANT CHARLES R. LOW**

*(Late) H.M. Indian Navy, Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society, and Member  
of the Royal United Service Institution*

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# CAPTAIN COOK'S THREE VOYAGES ROUND THE WORLD.

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## INTRODUCTION.

AMONG the most remarkable voyages of discovery of which we have record, those made by the celebrated Captain Cook hold in popular estimation, and deservedly so, the first place. This is due as much to the magnitude and importance of his discoveries as to the interest of the incidents he details; the graphic and accurate, yet simple, descriptions of the people and places he visited; and the sad fate that ultimately overtook him, which has cast around his name a halo of romantic interest as one of the martyrs of scientific exploration.

James Cook was born in November, 1728, at Marton, in Cleveland, near Great Ayton, in Yorkshire. He was of humble parentage, and, when only two years of age, his father, who was a day labourer to a farmer, removed to Great Ayton, where he was employed in the same capacity by Mr. Thomas Scottowe.

At first young Cook assisted his father in the different branches of husbandry, but, at thirteen, was placed under the

care of Mr. Pullen, the village schoolmaster at Ayton, where he learned arithmetic and book-keeping, and is said to have displayed a remarkable aptitude for figures.

About January, 1745, when James Cook was seventeen years of age, his father bound him apprentice to learn the grocery and haberdashery business, at Snaith, about ten miles from Whitby ; but after a year and a half's servitude, having contracted a strong predilection for the sea, his master was willing to indulge him in following the bent of his inclination, and agreed to cancel the indentures. Accordingly, in July, 1746, the future circumnavigator was bound apprentice to Mr. J. Walker, of Whitby, for the term of three years, which he served to the full satisfaction of his employer. He first sailed on board the *Freelove*, chiefly employed in ~~the coal~~ trade between Newcastle and London ; and, in May, 1748, was employed in assisting to rig and fit out for sea the *Three Brothers*, a ship of 300 tons, thus acquiring that intimate knowledge of the rigger's art which forms so important an element in the education of a sailor. After performing two coaling voyages in this ship, she was chartered by the Government as a transport, and conveyed troops to Dublin, thence embarking other soldiers to Liverpool. Cook continued to serve in her, in the Norway trade, until the expiration of his apprenticeship, and, in the spring of 1750, we find him shipping as a seaman on board the *Maria*, under the command of Captain Gaskin ; in her he performed some voyages in the Baltic trade. In 1752, Mr. Walker, of Whitby, was glad to avail himself of his services as mate of one of his ships, called the *Friendship*, and he gave so much satisfaction to the owner that, it is said, he was offered the post of master of the vessel, which, however, he declined. Henceforth his services were devoted to his country.

In the spring of 1755, hostilities broke out between this country and France, and strenuous efforts were made to man the ships of war. As press-warrants had been issued, Mr. Cook, whose ship then lay in the Thames, afraid of being pressed, at first resolved to conceal himself ; but afterwards, reflecting on the difficulties of doing so, he adopted the reso-



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## INTRODUCTION.

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lution of entering the navy as a volunteer, "having a mind," as he expressed himself, "to try his fortune that way." In pursuance of this design he repaired to a house of rendezvous in Wapping, and entered on board the *Eagle*, of 60 guns, at that time commanded by Captain Hamer; on the appointment, in the following October, of Captain (afterwards Sir Hugh) Palliser to the command of this ship, Cook's diligence and attention to the duties of his profession, although in the humble capacity of a foremast hand, attracted the notice of that discerning and intelligent commander, and he afforded him every encouragement. Cook's meritorious conduct also came to the ears of his friends in his native county, and representations were made to his captain by the Member for Scarborough, which resulted in his being recommended for a master's warrant on board one of His Majesty's ships. After some delay he was appointed master of the *Mercury*, and proceeded in her to North America, and was of signal service during the reduction of Quebec by the combined military and naval expedition under General Wolfe and Admiral Sir Charles Saunders; as is well known, the chief credit of that famous exploit fell to the lot of the sister service, which covered itself with glory, though at the sad cost of the loss of Wolfe, whose death dimmed the lustre of even so great a victory.

At the siege of Quebec, Sir Charles Saunders committed to his charge the execution of services of the first importance in the naval department. He piloted the boats to the attack of Montmorency, conducted the embarkation to the Heights of Abraham, and examined the passage, and laid buoys for the security of the large ships in proceeding up the river. He was employed for several nights taking soundings opposite the French camp at Montmorency, until at length he was discovered by the enemy, who sent a number of canoes, filled with Indians, to surround him; and he narrowly escaped capture by pulling for the Isle of Orleans, the Indians seizing the stern of his boat as he sprang ashore. The courage and address with which he acquitted himself in these services, and the admirable completeness of the plan of the channel and its soundings, which he furnished to the admiral, gained

him the warm friendship of Sir Charles Saunders and his successor, Lord Colville, who continued his zealous patrons during the remainder of their lives.

After the conquest of Canada, Mr. Cook was appointed, on the 2nd of September, 1759, master of the *Northumberland*, bearing the broad pennant of Lord Colville, which lay, during the ensuing winter, at Halifax. But Cook, whose chief anxiety was to rise in his profession, resolved to qualify himself for promotion, and counteract the deficiencies of his early education by application to those sciences and branches of knowledge which are essential to success. Inspired by this noble ambition, instead of devoting his spare time to amusements, he was engaged in improving his mind. During the hard winter of 1759 he first read Euclid, and applied himself to the study of mathematics and astronomy, without any other assistance than was afforded him by a few books and his own industry.

Mr. Cook's commission as lieutenant was dated the 1st of April, 1760. In September, 1762, we find him assisting at the recapture of Newfoundland; and subsequently, while the British fleet lay at Placentia, he was engaged surveying the heights and harbour in order that it might be put into a state of defence, a task which he performed with such marked ability, as to attract the favourable notice of the Governor of Newfoundland, Captain. (afterwards Admiral) Graves. Towards the close of the year, Lieutenant Cook returned to England, and, on the 21st of December, was married at Barking to Miss Batts, whose godfather he was said to have been, although, it should be added, there was only a difference of fourteen years in their ages. For this lady, by whom he had six children, he entertained a tender affection through life; but, like all great seamen, he placed the requirements of the public service before his personal predilections, and was ever ready at the call of duty to resign the solace of her society for years. In 1763 Lieut. Cook accompanied Captain Graves when he went out for the second time as Governor of Newfoundland, and he carried out a survey of its coasts, as well as of the islands of

Miquelon and St. Pierre, which had been ceded to this country by France in the treaty of peace. He again returned to England, but, early in the following year, accompanied his former captain, Sir Hugh Palliser, who had been appointed Governor of Newfoundland and Labrador, and continued the prosecution of his surveys of those coasts and of the Gulf of St. Lawrence. His charts were considered admirable and most trustworthy, while he did not confine his labours to marine surveying alone, but explored the interior of Newfoundland. In 1765 he was with Sir William Burnaby on the Jamaica station; he was employed by the Admiral in carrying despatches to the Governor of Yucatan, relative to the wood-cutters in the Bay of Honduras, and a record of this mission, which he performed in an eminently satisfactory manner, was published in 1769. Returning to Newfoundland, he observed an eclipse of the sun on August 5th, 1766, an account of which appears in the seventh volume of the *Philosophical Transactions* of the Royal Society.

Lieutenant Cook returned to England in 1767, when much interest was felt by the astronomical and scientific world at the approaching transit of Venus over the sun's disc in 1769. Acting on the advice of Captain Wallis, who had just returned from his voyage round the world, it was decided that Otaheite, in the Society Islands, would be the most convenient spot for carrying out the observations; and, after some delay, Lieutenant Cook was selected to command the expedition, which was fitted out under the auspices of the Royal Society and the patronage of his Majesty King George the Third and the Board of Admiralty, whose instructions to him embraced the prosecution of discoveries in those seas, which had been already partially explored by our countrymen, Captains Wallis, Carteret, and Byron. These officers, by their discoveries, had greatly contributed towards increasing our knowledge of the islands in Polynesia; but how far the Pacific Ocean extended to the west, by what lands it was bounded on that side, and the connection of those lands with former discoveries, remained unknown until

Cook, on his return from his first voyage, brought back a solution of these points.

After Lieutenant Cook's return from his first voyage, he was promoted to Commander on the 19th of August, 1771; and on the 9th of August, 1775, ten days after his arrival in England from his second voyage, he was raised to the rank of Post-Captain in the Royal Navy.

For the species of enterprise on which he was engaged during these years, Captain Cook appears to have been eminently qualified. The earliest habits of his life, the course of his service, and the constant application of his mind, all conspired to fit him for it, and gave him a degree of professional knowledge which few officers had then or have since attained.

His frame and constitution were robust, inured to labour and capable of undergoing the severest hardships. When necessity required it, he could submit, uncomplainingly, to the coarsest and most unpalatable food; and, indeed, temperance in him was scarcely a virtue, so great was the indifference with which he submitted to every kind of self-denial. The qualities of his mind were of the same hardy, vigorous kind as those of his body. His understanding was strong and perspicuous; his judgment, especially in professional matters, quick and sure. His designs were bold, and, both in the conception and in the mode of execution, bore evident marks of original genius. His courage was cool and determined, and accompanied with an admirable presence of mind in the moment of danger. His manners were plain and unaffected; his temper, it was said, was open to blame on the score of hastiness and passion, but on the other hand he was generous, benevolent, and humane.

Such was the outline of Captain Cook's character; but its most distinguishing feature was that unremitting perseverance in the pursuit of his object, which was superior to the opposition of dangers, difficulties, and hardships. During the long and tedious voyages in which he was engaged, his eagerness and activity were never in the least abated. No accidental temptations could detain him for a moment; even

those intervals of recreation which sometimes unavoidably occurred, were submitted to by him with a certain impatience whenever they could not be employed in making further provision for the more effectual prosecution of his designs. It is not necessary here to enumerate the instances in which these qualities were displayed, as his whole life bore witness that he was the possessor of them ; but we will briefly state the results of the great and important enterprises in which he was engaged.

Perhaps no man ever made greater additions to our knowledge of the twin sciences of geography and navigation than Captain Cook. In his first voyage to the South Seas he discovered the Society Islands ; determined the insularity of New Zealand ; discovered the straits called after his name, which separate the two islands, and made a complete survey of both.

With wonderful skill and perseverance, amidst perplexities, difficulties, and dangers, he explored the eastern coast of Australia, hitherto unknown, for an extent of twenty-seven degrees of latitude, or upwards of 2,000 miles.

In his second expedition he traversed the southern hemisphere, between the fortieth and sixty-seventh degrees of latitude, having sailed nearer to the South Pole than any previous navigator ; and it was not until 1823, just fifty years later, that Weddell penetrated 214 miles further south, though it was reserved for the late Sir James Clark Ross, in his memorable voyage in 1841, in Her Majesty's ships *Erebus* and *Terror* -- the same that carried Franklin and his associates on their last voyage -- to prove the existence of an antarctic continent, 450 miles in length, in 78° 4'.

During this voyage Captain Cook discovered New Caledonia, one of the largest islands in the South Pacific, the island of Georgia, and other islands, besides settling the situations of the old and making several new discoveries.

But the third and last voyage was distinguished above the others by the extent and importance of its results. Although he had richly earned repose by reason of his great services in the two former voyages, Cook voluntarily quitted

the comfortable quarters he had been allotted in Greenwich Hospital by the bounty of the King, and once more embarked on the dangers inseparable from the navigation of unknown seas, the dealing with savage races, and the search for the mysterious "north-west passage,"\* which had baffled so many of our most experienced navigators, and which, seventy years later, was destined to engulf the great Franklin and upwards of 100 gallant officers and seamen at the moment when the secret was yielded up to their energetic research.

Besides several smaller islands in the South Pacific, he discovered, to the north of the equinoctial line, the group called the Sandwich Islands, which, from their situation and productions, have attained a position of importance not yet assumed by other groups in Polynesia. He afterwards explored what had hitherto remained unknown of the western coast of America, from the latitude of  $43^{\circ}$  to  $70^{\circ} 44'$  north, containing an extent of 3,500 miles, ascertained the proximity of the two great continents of Asia and America, passed the straits between them, and surveyed a considerable extent of coast on each side; and it was not until 1826 that Captain Beechey passed Cook's farthest, and again, many years later, Sir Robert McClure and Sir Richard Collinson.

But Cook was destined never to return to England, and, on the 14th of February, 1779, on the shores of an island he had given to the civilised world, this great mariner perished by the daggers of a horde of savages whom it had been his utmost endeavour to conciliate by kind and friendly treatment.

Those who are conversant with naval history need not be told at how dear a rate the scientific advantages which are sought to be attained through the medium of long voyages at sea have always been purchased. Scurvy, that dreadful

\* Strictly speaking, Cook was engaged in discovering the "north-east" passage, from which point he attacked the great problem of Arctic navigation. On this side Captain Beechey reached as far as  $71^{\circ} 25'$ , by which means a space of about 150 miles only remained unexplored between Point Barrow, the N.E. point reached by Captain Beechey, and Point Beechey, the N.W. limit of Sir John Franklin's land expeditions from the mouth of McKenzie's River. This interval was surmounted by the late Sir Robert McClure.

disorder which is peculiar to this service, and whose ravages have marked the tracks of discoverers, as witness the records of the voyages of Lord Anson and other navigators, must have proved an insuperable obstacle to the prosecution of such enterprises, unless the preservation of the lives of our seamen were deemed a matter of no moment. It was reserved for Captain Cook to show the world, by repeated trials, that voyages might be protracted to the unusual length of three or even four years, in unknown regions, and under every change and rigour of climate, not only without affecting the health, but even without diminishing the probability of life in the smallest degree. The method he pursued was fully explained by himself in a paper which was read before the Royal Society, in the year 1776, a few months after he quitted England on his last voyage, on which occasion Sir Godfrey Copley's gold medal was awarded him; and he also noted in his journal, up to the time of his death, whatever improvements were suggested by experience.

With respect to his professional abilities, Captain King, his able lieutenant, well observes, "I shall leave them to the judgment of those who are best acquainted with the nature of the services in which he was engaged. They will readily acknowledge that to have conducted three expeditions of so much danger and difficulty, of so unusual a length, and in such a variety of situation, with uniform and invariable success, must have required not only a thorough and accurate knowledge of his business, but a powerful and comprehensive genius, fruitful in resources, and equally ready in the application of whatever the higher and inferior calls of the service required."

Owing to the great care taken by Captain Cook of his men, and the sanitary precautions he adopted, his voyages were distinguished among those of the century for the small loss incurred in their prosecution. But the last was destined to be fatal to many of the officers who sailed in the two ships, the *Resolution* and *Discovery*. In addition to Captain Cook, killed on the 14th of February, 1779, Captain Clerke, who succeeded to the chief command, succumbed, at the age of

thirty-eight, to consumption, from which he had suffered before he left England, on the 22nd of August in the same year ; and Captain King, the accomplished historian of the voyage after the death of Cook, died, at Nice, in the autumn of 1784, of disease caused by the hardships and vicissitudes of climate to which he had been exposed. King George the Third was not forgetful of the services of his great subject, whose discoveries shed no less glory on his reign than the victories by sea and land, which we Englishmen regard with so much pride and satisfaction. He settled a pension of £25 per annum on each of the three surviving sons of the great circumnavigator, and a pension of £200 a year on the widow.

This lady had soon cause to deplore the loss, in their country's service, of others only less dear to her than her gallant and lamented husband. In October, 1780, the month when, by the return of the *Resolution* and *Discovery*, Mrs. Cook was first made aware of the irreparable loss she had sustained, her second son, Nathaniel, sixteen years of age, was lost on board the *Thunderer* man-of-war, which foundered in a gale of wind. The youngest son, Hugh, a student of Christ's College, Cambridge, died of fever at the early age of seventeen, on the 21st of December, 1793 ; and, on the 25th of January in the following year, the eldest son, aged thirty-one, who bore his father's name, and commanded the *Spitfire* sloop-of-war, was driven to sea while attempting to board his ship off Poole in a heavy gale, and perished, together with the boat's crew. His body was afterwards recovered, and conveyed to Spithead on board his own ship, whence it was removed to Cambridge, and buried by the side of his youngest brother, whose funeral he had attended only six weeks before. Mrs. Cook was herself brought to the brink of the grave by these accumulated bereavements, but she recovered her health, and lived to the extraordinary age of ninety-three, having survived her husband fifty-six years. She died on the 13th of May, 1835, at her residence at Clapham, to the poor of which she left a charitable bequest, and was buried in the middle aisle of St. Andrew's the Great,



Cambridge, by the side of her two sons. Within the communion rail of that church is a tablet, having an appropriate design descriptive of naval discovery sculptured at the top, and below, a shield, the device of a globe and a star, with the motto,

*"Nil intentatum reliquit."*

On the tablet is the following inscription to the memory of Captain Cook :—

IN MEMORY OF  
CAPTAIN JAMES COOK,  
Of the Royal Navy,

One of the most Celebrated Navigators that this or former ages can boast of ;

Who was killed by the natives of Owyhee in the Pacific Ocean.

On the 14th day of February, 1779, in the 35th year of his age.

In continuation of the above, is an inscription to his widow and their sons, with the names and ages of three children who died in infancy ; and, on the slab in the middle aisle, beneath which lie Mrs. Cook and her sons, is a brief record of their names and ages at the date of decease.

But though it is a meet and proper thing that this country, even by a cenotaph, should record its sense of the services and devotion to duty of one of the noblest of its sons, yet more interest attaches to the memorials that have been raised to our great countryman on the scene of his labours and of his death. Until within the past year, however, no suitable monument to the memory of Captain Cook had been raised in the Sandwich Island, though this remissness did not extend to the officers of the Royal Navy, who have ever been proud of numbering the name of James Cook among the most distinguished in the long roll of naval worthies. About 100 yards from the beach, where he was so cruelly murdered, stands a portion of the trunk of a cocoa-nut tree, set in a bed of loose stones and broken lava, and bearing four plates of copper, upon which appear the following

inscriptions, rudely stamped, apparently with a punch. On the largest of these, the following is the only portion that is now decipherable :—

"This bay was visited by Her Majesty's ship *Conwyford*, Right Honourable Lord George Paulet."

A second plate bears the following inscription :—

"This tree having fallen, was replaced on this spot by Her Majesty's steam-vessel *Cormorant*, G. T. Gordon, Esq., Captain, which visited this spot May 18, 1846."

The third plate has the following inscription :—

"This sheet and capping were put on by the *Sparrow Hawk*, September 16, 1839, in order to preserve this monument to the memory of Cook. Give this a coat of tar."

On the fourth plate the following may be deciphered :—

"Near this spot fell Captain James Cook, R.N., the renowned navigator, who discovered this island A.D. 1778. His Majesty's ship *Imogene*, October 17th, 1837."

Yet another rude memorial, supposed to be by the officers of the *Blonde*, attests the estimation in which the name of Cook is held by the Navy. About a mile from the bay, and at an elevation of some 500 feet above the level of the sea, is a post, about 10 feet in height, set in rude blocks of lava, enclosed within a wall of the same material, and bearing the following inscription upon a plate of copper :—

IN THE MEMORY OF

CAPTAIN JAMES COOK, R.N.,

Who discovered this island A.D. 1778,

This humble monument is erected by his fellow-countrymen, A.D. 1825.

These memorials to Cook displayed a just appreciation on the part of our naval officers, but the means at their disposal were limited ; and it was not until 1874 that a suitable monument was erected to his memory. The "*Honolulu Gazette*," of the 25th of November of that year, records the

circumstances under which this was effected. The chief credit is due to Mr. Wodehouse, the British Commissioner, who obtained the co-operation of the Hawaiian Government, and Captain Cator, of Her Majesty's ship *Scout*, who conveyed the architect and men and materials to the spot in Karakakooa Bay where Captain Cook fell.

The monument is a plain obelisk, standing on a square base, the whole being 27 feet in height, and constructed throughout of a concrete composed of carefully screened pebbles and cement.

It stands on a level platform of lava, only a few feet distant from and above high-water mark, and fifteen or twenty yards from the stone or lava slab on which the great seaman stood when struck down. The site is the gift of the native Princess Likelike, and the expense of the erection is partly borne by subscribers in England, among whom are Admiral Richards, late Hydrographer at the Admiralty, several officers who served under him when he commanded H.M.S. *Hecate*, on this station, and Lady Franklin, who it was natural should feel a peculiar interest in one who, like her great husband, at the call of duty, left a competence, a loving wife, and admiring friends, to perish in the prosecution of nautical exploration.

On the seaward base of the obelisk is deeply cut the following inscription :—

IN MEMORY OF THE GREAT CIRCUMNAVIGATOR

CAPTAIN JAMES COOK, R.N.,

Who discovered these islands on the 18th of January, 1778, and fell near  
this spot on the 14th of February, 1779.

This monument was erected in November, A.D. 1874.

By some of his fellow-countrymen.

The unveiling of the monument, which will be surrounded by a fence or railing, took place on the 14th of November, 1874, in presence of Mr. Wodehouse, Mr. Lischman, the architect, Captain Cator and the officers of the *Scout*, and many foreign and native visitors and residents.

But no monument is needed to the fame of the discoverer of the Sandwich group, of New Caledonia, of Georgia, and other inferior islands; the explorer of the unknown coasts of New Zealand, of Australia, and of the West Coast of America as far as Icy Cape. Among the names most cherished by his countrymen, is that of the greatest navigator of all time, Captain James Cook, whose unassuming, genuine character obtained for him the honourable title of "*Orbis investigator acerrimus*."

## THE FIRST VOYAGE OF CAPTAIN COOK.

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*DURING* the past year the governments and scientific men of all civilised nations were vying with each other as to which should contribute most to the observation of one of the rarest and most interesting of astronomical phenomena. Numberless expeditions were organised under the auspices, and at the expense of, governments, learned societies, and munificent private individuals, and were despatched to some of the most remote and inaccessible spots and islands on the face of the globe, for the purpose of observing the transit of Venus over the sun's disc.

Much more humble were the efforts made a century ago to observe the same phenomenon, though it was the furthering of this scientific end that brought before the world the name of that great man, whose memory his countrymen will not willingly permit to die ; and, indeed, of few, if any, of our worthies, have so many biographical sketches been written, while the narrative of his voyages has been edited by numerous hands, and never so well as when the original text of Captains Cook and King has been most closely adhered to. This course we have adopted, abbreviating freely, and, where necessary, throwing into modern language the somewhat antiquated phrasology of the early editions.

Calculations having been made that the planet Venus would

pass over the sun's disc in 1769, the Royal Society, under the patronage of King George the Third, presented a memorial to Government, requesting that a vessel might be fitted out to convey proper persons to observe the transit, either in the Marquesas or Friendly Islands, though, on the recommendation of Captain Wallis, who at this time returned from his voyage round the world, it was ultimately decided that the observers should proceed instead to Otaheite, in the Society Islands. Accordingly, Sir Hugh Palliser, a captain in the Royal Navy, under whom Cook had served on board the *Eagle*, of 60 guns, was commissioned to provide a proper vessel; and after examining a great number, fixed on the *Endeavour*, a vessel of 370 tons, which had been built for the coal trade. Mr. Stephens, Secretary to the Admiralty, having recommended Mr. Cook, and this recommendation being strengthened by the testimony of Sir Hugh Palliser, he was appointed to the distinguished post of Commander of the expedition by the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, and promoted to the rank of Lieutenant in the Royal Navy, on the 25th of May, 1768, being then nearly 40 years of age. Mr. Charles Green, the coadjutor of Mr. Bradley, the Astronomer Royal, was nominated to assist him in the astronomical part of the undertaking; he was also accompanied by Mr. (afterwards Sir Joseph) Banks, President of the Royal Society, who took with him two draughtsmen, and had likewise a secretary and four servants. Dr. Solander, an ingenious and learned Swede, who held a place in the British Museum, and was an adept in natural history and philosophy, also joined the expedition. The complement of the *Endeavour* consisted of eighty-four persons. She was victualled for eighteen months, and ten carriage and twelve swivel guns, with abundance of ammunition, and all manner of stores, were taken on board. Her principal officers were:—Lieutenants Hicks and Gore; Mr. Molineux, master, who died the 15th of April, 1771, and was succeeded by Mr. Pickersgill; Mr. Charles Clerke, mate; Mr. Monkhouse, surgeon, who died the 5th of November, 1770, and was succeeded by Mr. Perry.

Captain Cook sailed from Deptford on the 30th of July, 1768, and on the 18th of August anchored in Plymouth Sound, from which, in a few days, he proceeded to sea. On the 2nd of September they made the first land after leaving the Channel, and on the 13th arrived at Madeira, where they unfortunately lost Mr. Weir, the master's mate, who fell overboard and was drowned. They left Madeira on the 19th of September and on the 23rd sighted the Peak of Teneriffe, which, from its great elevation, is visible a vast distance at sea. On the 29th, Bona Vista, one of the Cape de Verd islands, was passed, and on October the 25th they crossed the line with the usual ceremonies. Provisions falling short, it was determined to put into Rio Janeiro\*, where they arrived on the 13th of November, and having procured the necessary supplies, weighed anchor on the 8th of December. On the 22nd they were surrounded by a great number of porpoises, of a singular species, about 15 feet in length, and of an ash colour. On the following day they observed an eclipse of the moon; and at seven o'clock in the morning a small white cloud appeared in the west, from which a train of fire issued, followed by a distinct explosion, when the cloud disappeared. The year 1768 closed without any noteworthy incident.

On the 4th of January, 1769, they saw an appearance of land, which they mistook for Pepys' Island, and bore away for it; but it proved one of those deceptions which sailors call a "fog bank." On the 14th they entered the straits of Le Maire, but were driven out again with great violence, the tide being against them. At length they got anchorage at the entrance of a little cove, which Captain Cook called St. Vincent's Bay. Dr. Solander and Mr. Banks went on shore, and returned about nine in the evening with upwards of a hundred different plants and flowers, hitherto unnoticed by European botanists.

On Sunday, the 15th, they came to an anchor off this part of Terra del Fuego, in twelve fathoms of water, upon coral rocks, before a small cove, at the distance of about a mile from the shore. Two of the natives came down upon the

\* So called after St. Januarius, the saint's day on which it was discovered.

beach, as if they expected the strangers would land; but as there was no shelter the ship got under weigh again and the natives retired. The same afternoon they came to an anchor in the Bay of Good Success. The captain went on shore, accompanied by Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander, to search for a watering-place and confer with the natives. These gentlemen proceeded above 100 yards in advance of Captain Cook, when two of the natives who had seated themselves, rose up, and, as a token of amity, threw away a small stick or boomerang which they had in their hands. They afterwards returned to their companions, who had remained some distance behind, and made signs to their guests to advance. They received the Englishmen in a friendly manner, and in return for their civility, some buttons and beads were distributed among them. Thus confidence was established, and the rest of the English party joined and conversed with them in an amicable manner. Captain Cook and his friends took three of the natives to the ship, clothed them, and gave them provisions, part of which they carried on shore. They, however, refused to drink rum or brandy, after tasting it, intimating, by signs, that it burned their throats. None of these people exceeded 5 feet 10 inches in height, but their bodies appeared large and robust, though their limbs were small. They had broad flat faces, high cheeks, noses inclining to flatness, wide nostrils, small black eyes, large mouths, small but indifferent teeth, and straight black hair falling down over their ears and foreheads, the latter being most generally smeared with brown and red paints; and, like all the original inhabitants of America, they were beardless. Their garments were the skins of seals and guanicos, which they wrapped round their shoulders. The men likewise wore on their heads a bunch of yarn, which fell over their foreheads, and was tied behind with the sinews or tendons of some animal. Many of both sexes were painted in different parts of their bodies with red, brown, and white colours, and had also three or four perpendicular lines pricked across their cheeks and noses. The women had a small string tied round each ankle, and each wore a flap of skin fastened round the middle. They carried



their children upon their backs, and were generally employed in domestic labour and drudgery.

Mr. Banks, Dr. Solander, Mr. Buchan, and attendants, set out with a design of going into the country and returning the same evening. The morning had been very fine, but the weather afterwards became cold and disagreeable, the blasts of wind were piercing, and the snow fell very thick; nevertheless, they pursued their route, in the hope of finding a better road, as that which they had crossed was swampy. An accident now happened that greatly disconcerted them all. Mr. Buchan was attacked with a fit. Such as were fatigued remained to assist him; but Mr. Banks, Dr. Solander, and Mr. Monkhouse proceeded on further, and found a great variety of plants that amply repaid their toil. When they returned to the company amidst the snow, which now fell in great abundance, they found that Mr. Buchan was much recovered. It was now about eight in the evening, and Dr. Solander, knowing from experience that extreme cold, when joined with fatigue, occasions a drowsiness that is not easily resisted, entreated his friends to keep in motion, however disagreeable it might be to them. His words were, "Whoever sits down will sleep, and whoever sleeps will awake no more." Accordingly, every one now seemed armed with resolution; but, on a sudden, the cold became so very intense as to threaten the most dreadful effects. It was remarkable that the doctor himself, who had so forcibly admonished his party, was the first person who insisted on repose. In spite of their earnest entreaties, he lay down amidst the snow, and it was with the greatest difficulty they kept him awake. One of the black servants became also weary and faint, and was on the point of following his example. Mr. Buchan was therefore detached with a party to make a fire at the first commodious spot they could find; Mr. Banks and four more remained with the doctor and Richmond, the black servant, who with the utmost difficulty were persuaded to proceed; but when they had traversed the greater part of the swamp, they expressed their inability to go any further. When Richmond was told that if he

remained there he would soon be frozen to death, his reply was that he was so exhausted with fatigue, that death would be a relief to him. Dr. Solander said he was not unwilling to go, but that he must first take some sleep, acting contrary to the opinion which he himself had so lately delivered. Thus resolved, they both sat down, supported by some bushes, and in a short time fell fast asleep. Intelligence now came from the advanced party that a fire was kindled about a quarter of a mile in advance. Mr. Banks then awakened the doctor, who had almost lost the use of his limbs, though it was but a few minutes since he sat down; nevertheless, he consented to go on. Every measure, however, taken to relieve Richmond proved ineffectual; he remained motionless, and they were obliged to leave him to the care of a sailor and the other black servant, who appeared to be the least affected by the cold, and they were to be relieved as soon as two others were sufficiently warmed to supply their places. The doctor, with much difficulty, was got to the fire, but the party who were sent to relieve the companions of Richmond returned without having been able to find them.

A fall of snow continuing for nearly two hours, there now remained no hopes of seeing the three absent persons again. About twelve o'clock, however, a great shouting was heard at a distance, when Mr. Banks and four others went forth and met the sailor, who had just strength enough left to walk. He was immediately taken to the fire, and they proceeded to seek for the other two. They found Richmond upon his legs, of which, however, he had lost the use, and the other black was lying senseless upon the ground. All endeavours to bring them to the fire were fruitless; nor was it possible to kindle one upon the spot, on account of the snow that had fallen and was still falling, so there remained no alternative, and they were compelled to leave the two unfortunate negroes to their fate, after they had made them a bed of the boughs of some trees, and covered them over thick with the same. As all hands had been employed in endeavouring to move these poor fellows to the fire, and had

been exposed to the cold for near an hour and a half in the attempt, some of them began to be afflicted in the same manner as those whom they went to relieve. Briscoe, another servant of Mr. Banks, in particular, began to lose his sensibility. At last they reached the fire, and passed the night in a very disagreeable manner.

The party that set out from the ship consisted of twelve; two were already judged to be dead, and it was doubtful whether a third would be able to return on board; Mr. Buchan, a fourth, seemed to be threatened with a return of his fits. They reckoned that the ship was distant a long day's journey through an unfrequented wood, and having been equipped only for a journey of a few hours, they had not a sufficiency of provisions left to afford the company a single meal.

At daybreak on the 17th nothing presented itself to view but snow, and the blasts of wind were so frequent and violent that their journey seemed to be impracticable. However, about six in the morning they had a dawn of hope, by discerning the sun through the clouds, and as they proposed to set out on their return journey to the ship, messengers were despatched to the unhappy negroes, but they returned with the melancholy news of their death. They then started about ten in the morning, and to their great astonishment and satisfaction, in about three hours found themselves on the shore, and much nearer the ship than their most sanguine expectations could have suggested, for, instead of ascending the hill in a direct line, they had made a circle almost round the country.

On the 20th Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander again proceeded on shore, and collected a number of shells and plants hitherto unknown. After dinner they went to visit an Indian town, about two miles up the country, situated on a small hill covered with wood, and consisting of about a dozen huts, constructed without art or regularity, composed of a few poles, inclining to each other in the shape of a sugar loaf; these poles were covered on the weather side with grass and boughs, and on the lee side a space was left open which

served at once for a fireplace and a door. A little grass formed their only beds and chairs; their utensils were a basket for the hand, a satchel to hang upon the back, and a bladder of water, out of which they drink through a hole in the top. This town was inhabited by a tribe of about fifty men, women, and children. Their bows and arrows were constructed with neatness and ingenuity, being made of wood highly polished, and the point, which was either glass or flint, was very skilfully fitted. These latter substances were observed among them unwrought, as also cloth, rings, buttons, &c., from whence it was concluded that they sometimes travelled to the northward, as no ship, for years past, had touched at this part of Terra del Fuego. They did not show any surprise at the sight of arms, but appeared to be well acquainted with their use. They seemed to be of a very low type of humanity, passing their lives in wandering in a forlorn manner over dreary wastes; their only food was shellfish, nor had they the rudest implements of art—not even so much as was necessary to dress their food. ✓

On the 20th of January Captain Cook took his departure from Cape Horn; and the weather being very calm, Mr. Banks proceeded in a small boat to shoot birds, when he killed some shearwaters and some large albatrosses. The latter proved very good food. Notwithstanding that the doubling of Cape Horn was represented by voyagers of that date as fraught with danger, and it was generally thought that passing through the Straits of Magellan was less perilous, yet the *Endeavour* doubled "the Horn," as sailors call it, with as little danger as she would the North Foreland on the Kentish coast. The heavens were fair, the wind temperate, the weather pleasant, and, being near shore, they had a very distinct view of the coast. Captain Cook surveyed the Bay of Good Success and traced the coast. The former charts of this part of Terra del Fuego were nearly useless, they having been formed from the rude sketches of Hermite, the Dutch admiral, in 1624, and those still worse of the discoverers Schouten and Le Maire.

On the 25th a marine, about twenty years of age, being

falsely charged with theft, took the accusation so much to heart that, in the dusk of the evening, he threw himself into the sea and was drowned.

On the 4th of April, about 10 o'clock, Peter Briscoe, servant to Mr. Banks, discovered land to the south, at the distance of about three or four leagues. Captain Cook immediately gave orders to sail for it, when they found an island of an oval form, having a lagoon or lake in the centre, whence he gave it the name of Lagoon Island. The surrounding border of the land was low and narrow in many places, especially towards the south, where the beach consisted of a reef of rocks. Three places on the north side had the same appearance, so that, on the whole, the land seemed to resemble several woody islands. When within a mile of the north side, no bottom could be found at 130 fathoms, nor any good anchorage. Several of the natives were discovered on shore; they appeared to be tall, with heads remarkably large, which probably some bandage might have increased. Their complexion was copper colour and their hair black. Some of these people were seen abreast of the ship, holding poles or pikes of twice their own height. They appeared also to be naked, but when they retired, on the ship's passing by the islands, they put on a light covering; some clumps of palm trees served them for habitations.

The *Endeavour*, on the 5th, continued her course with a favourable wind, and about three o'clock land was discovered to the westward. It was low, in form resembling a bow, and in circumference seemed to be ten or twelve leagues. Its length was about three or four leagues, and its width about 200 yards. This island, from the smoke that was discovered, appeared to be inhabited, and was named Bow Island.

On the 10th of April, after a tempestuous night, the *Endeavour* came in sight of Osnaburgh\* Island, called by the natives Maitea. This island is circular, about four miles in circumference, partly rocky and partly covered with trees.

\* Quiros, who first visited it in 1606, named it Desana; Wallis, in 1767, calls it Osnaburgh; Bougainville, in 1768, terms it Boudoir; and Cook calls it by the native name.

On the 11th they made Otaheite, or, as Captain Wallis had named it, "George the Third's Island." This island, the largest and most important of the Society group, was first discovered by Quiros, a Spaniard, as early as the year 1606, and called Sagittaria. The next European to visit it was Captain Wallis, in 1767; and it had been so ill described by the Spanish navigator, that our countryman was unable to recognise it as the island discovered by him. The third visitor was Captain Cook, on the occasion under notice.

The Society group consists of five islands and numerous small islets. The former are called Otaheite, Eimeo, Meatia (or Maitea), Maiaviti, and Tituaro; and they all lie between  $16^{\circ} 30'$  and  $17^{\circ} 54'$  South lat., and  $148^{\circ} 153'$  West long. At the present time, the island of Otaheite is the seat of the native government, as well as that of the French, since its subjugation. This island is formed by two distinct mountains, rising to the height of from 6,000 to 8,000 feet, and divided from each other by a low isthmus some three miles in width. The circumference of Otaheite is between 110 and 113 miles, and its coasts are girded by a coral reef. Its geological formation is volcanic, though the valleys and hill-sides are of great fertility. The climate is temperate, the temperature ranging in summer between  $68^{\circ}$  and  $86^{\circ}$ . At the date of the arrival of the first missionaries in 1797, the population is said to have been under 20,000, and twenty years later it had actually decreased to 5,000. Since 1820, owing to the abolition of infanticide and the influence of the new religion upon the morals of the natives, the population has attained the level of 1797, and again numbers 20,000.\*

The calms prevented the *Endeavour* approaching Otaheite till the morning of the 12th of April, when a breeze sprang up, and several canoes were seen making towards the ship. Few of them, however, would come near, and the occupants of those that did could not be persuaded to come on board. They brought with them young plantains and branches of trees, which were handed up the ship's side, and by their

\* "Travels in the Sandwich and Society Islands," by S. S. Hill. London, 1838.

desire were stuck in conspicuous parts of the rigging, as tokens of peace and friendship. After this, the crew purchased their commodities, consisting of cocoa-nuts, bananas, bread-fruit, apples, and figs, which were very acceptable.

They lay "off and on" all night, and in the morning of the 13th entered Port Royal Harbour, in the island of Otaheite, and anchored within half a mile of the shore. Many of the natives came off immediately in their canoes, and brought with them bread-fruit, cocoa-nuts, apples, and some hogs, which they bartered for beads and other trinkets with the ship's company. The tree which bears the bread-fruit is about the size of a horse chestnut; its leaves are nearly a foot and a half in length, in shape oblong, and very much resembling those of the fig-tree. The fruit is enclosed in a thin skin, and its core is as large as a man's thumb. The substance of this fruit is somewhat like that of new bread, and as white as the blanched almond. It should be roasted, and has a sweetish taste to the palate.

Amongst those who came on board the *Endeavour* was an elderly man named Owhaw, known to Mr. Gore and others who had visited the island with Captain Wallis, and as he was considered a very useful personage, they studied to please him and to gratify all his wishes.

Captain Cook drew up several necessary rules to be observed by every person on board, for the better establishment of a regular trade with the natives. The substance of the rules were, "That in order to prevent quarrels and confusion, every one of the ship's crew should endeavour to treat the inhabitants of Otaheite with humanity, and by all fair means to cultivate a friendship with them. That no officer, seaman, or other person belonging to the ship, excepting such only as were appointed to barter with the natives, should trade or offer to trade, for any kind of provision, fruit, or other produce of the island, without having express leave so to do. That no person should embezzle, trade, or offer to trade with any part of the ship's stores; and that no sort of iron or anything made of iron, or any sort of cloth, or other useful articles in the ship, should be given in exchange for anything

but provisions.\* These necessary rules were signed by Captain Cook, and to the non-observance of them were annexed certain penalties, besides the punishment accorded in the navy to the infraction of the captain's orders.

When the ship was properly secured, Captain Cook, Mr. Banks, and Dr. Solander went on shore, with an armed party and their friend Owahaw. They were received with awe and reverence by some hundreds of the natives, who exchanged the tokens of peace, and offered to conduct them to a spot of ground which would be more convenient for them to occupy than where they landed. They now took a circuit of about four miles, through groves of the bread-fruit and cocoa trees. Intermingled with these were the dwellings of the natives, which consisted of huts without walls. In the course of their journey they found but few fowls or hogs, and understood that none of their conductors, nor any of the people they had hitherto seen, were persons of rank in the island. Those of the crew who had before been at Otaheite, in the *Dolphin*, were likewise of opinion that the queen's residence had been removed, as no traces of it were now to be discovered.

Next morning, before they could leave the ship, several canoes came about her, filled with people, whose dress denoted them to be of the superior class. Two of these came on board, and each fixed on a friend; one of them chose Mr. Banks and the other Captain Cook. The ceremonial of investiture, if it may be so called, consisted in taking off their clothes in a great part and putting them upon their adopted friends. This compliment was returned by the gentlemen presenting them with some trinkets. They then made signs for their new friends to go with them to the place of their abode, and the latter, desirous of being acquainted with the people, and finding out a more convenient harbour, accepted the invitation and went with them. Mr. Banks, Dr. Solander, and others, landed in two boats at a distance of about three miles from the ship, among a great number of the natives, who conducted them to a large habitation, where they were introduced to a middle-aged man, named Tootahah. When they were seated, he pre-



sented to Mr. Banks a cock, a hen, and a piece of perfumed cloth, which compliment was returned by a present from Mr. Banks. They were conducted to several other large dwellings, wherein they walked about with great freedom. Walking afterwards along the shore they met another chief, named Tubourai Tamaide, with whom they settled a treaty of peace, in the manner before described. The chief gave them to understand that he had provisions at their service, if they chose to eat, which he produced, and they dined heartily upon bread-fruit, plaintains, and fish. In the course of this visit, Dr. Solander having missed an opera-glass, complaint was made to the chief, which interrupted the convivial party. This complaint was enforced by Mr. Banks starting up and striking the butt-end of his musket against the ground, which alarmed the Indians so much that all of them ran precipitately out of the house, except the chief and a few others of the superior class. The chief observed, with an air of probity, that he would endeavour to recover it, adding that if this could not be done he would make compensation, by giving as much new cloth as should be thought equal to the value. The case, however, was brought in a short time, and the glass itself soon after. After this adventure was amicably terminated, they returned to the ship about six o'clock in the evening. C

On Saturday, the 15th, in the morning, several of the chiefs came on board, bringing with them hogs, bread-fruit, and other refreshments, for which they received linen, beads, and other trinkets. The captain, attended by Mr. Banks and some officers, went on shore to select a suitable spot for the erection of a fort for their defence during their stay, and the ground was marked out for the purpose, a great number of the natives looking on, and behaving in the most peaceable manner.

Mr. Banks and his friends having seen few hogs and poultry in their walks, suspected that they had been driven up the country, for which reason they determined to penetrate into the woods, the tent being guarded by a petty officer and a party of marines. On this excursion several

of the natives accompanied them. While on their march they were alarmed by the report of two pieces, fired by the guard of the tent. Owhaw, calling together the captain's party, dispersed all the Indians except three, who, in token of their fidelity, broke branches of trees, according to their custom, and whom it was thought proper to retain. When they returned to the tent they found that an Indian had snatched away one of the sentries' muskets, and a young midshipman, who commanded the party, was so imprudent as to give the marines orders to fire, and many of the natives were wounded; but as the offender had not fallen, they pursued him and shot him dead. Mr. Banks was much displeased at this conduct; but as what had passed could not be recalled, nothing remained but to endeavour to accommodate matters with the Indians. Accordingly, through the mediation of an old man, several of the natives were prevailed to come over to them, and to give the usual tokens of friendship. The next morning, however, they saw but few of the natives on the beach, and none on board, from whence it was concluded that the treatment they had received the former day was not yet forgotten; and the English were confirmed in this opinion by Owhaw's having left them. In consequence of these circumstances the captain brought the ship nearer to the shore, and moored her in such a manner as to make her broadside bear on the spot which they had marked out for erecting the fort. In the evening, the captain and some of the gentlemen going on shore, the Indians came round them and trafficked with them as usual.

On the 17th they had the misfortune to lose Mr. Buchan. The same day they received a visit from Tubourai Tamaide and Tootahah, who brought with them some plantain branches, and till these were received they would not venture on board. The erection of the fort commenced on the 18th.

Some of the ship's company were employed in throwing up intrenchments, whilst others were busied in cutting fascines, in which work the Indians assisted them. The natives brought down such quantities of bread-fruit and coconuts this day that it was necessary to refuse them, and to let

them know that none would be wanting for two days. Mr. Banks slept for the first time on shore this night. None of the Indians attempted to approach his tent; he had, however, taken the precaution to place sentries about it for his defence.

A sort of market was now established without the lines of the fort, which was tolerably well supplied, and Tubourai Tamaide was a frequent guest of Mr. Banks and the other English gentlemen. He was the only native that attempted to use a knife and fork, being fond of adopting European manners. Mr. Monkhouse, the surgeon, being abroad on his evening walk, reported that he had seen the body of the man who had been shot from the tent. It was deposited in a shed, close to the house where he had resided when alive. The body lay on a bier, the frame of which was wood, supported by pillars about 5 feet high, and covered with a mat, over which lay a white cloth; by its side lay a wooden mace, and towards the head two cocoa-nut shells. Towards the feet was a bunch of green leaves and small dried boughs tied together, and stuck in the ground, near which was a stone about the size of a cocoa-nut; here were also placed a young plantain tree, and on the stem of a palm tree, which was placed upright outside of it, was placed a cocoa-shell, filled with water. At the side of one of the posts there hung a little bag with some roasted pieces of bread-fruit. The natives were not pleased at his approaching the body, their jealousy appearing plainly in their countenances and gestures.

On the 22nd they were entertained by some of the musicians of the country, who performed on an instrument somewhat resembling a German flute, but the performer blew through his nostrils instead of his mouth, and others accompanied this instrument, singing only one tune. Some of the Indians brought their axes to grind and repair, most of which they had obtained from Captain Wallis and the crew of the *Dolphin*; but a French axe occasioned a little speculation, and at length, upon inquiry, it appeared to have been left here by M. De Bougainville.

On the 25th, several knives being missed, Mr. Banks,

who had lost his among the rest, accused Tubourai Tamaide of having taken it, upon which the chief, with tears in his eyes, made signs that if he had been guilty of such a theft as had been imputed to him, he would suffer his throat to be cut. But, though he was innocent, it was plain that the natives in general were very much addicted to thieving, as though Mr. Banks' servant had mislaid the knife in question, yet the rest were produced in a day by one of the natives.

On the 26th six swivel guns were mounted on the fort, which alarmed the Indians, and several of the fishermen removed, fearing that the guns would open fire on them. The next day, Tubourai Tamaide came with three women and a friend to dine at the fort, and after dinner returned to his own house. In a short time after he came back to complain of a butcher, who had threatened to cut his wife's throat because she would not barter a stone hatchet for a nail. It appearing clearly that the offender had infringed one of the rules enjoined by the captain for trading with the natives, he was flogged on board, in their sight. When the first stroke had been given, they interfered, and entreated that the culprit might be untied; but when this favour was denied them, they appeared greatly concerned, and burst into tears.

Mr. Molineux, master of the *Endeavour*, seeing a woman whose name was Oberea, he declared she was the same person whom he judged to be queen of the island when he was there with Captain Wallis. The eyes of every one were now fixed on her, of whom so much had been said by the crew of the *Dolphin*, and in the account given of her by the captain. In person she was tall and rather large made; she was about forty years of age, her skin white, and her eyes had great expression in them; she had been handsome, but her beauty was now upon the decline. An offer was made to conduct her on board the ship, which she accepted. Many presents were made her, particularly a child's doll, which she viewed very attentively. Captain Cook accompanied her on shore, and when they landed, she presented him with a hoe and some plantains in return for

his presents, which were carried to the fort in procession, Oberlea and the captain bringing up the rear. On the way they met Tootahah, who, though not king, seemed at this time invested with sovereign authority. He no sooner saw the dull than he discovered strong symptoms of jealousy, nor could any method be found of conciliating his friendship but that of presenting him with one also.

On the 30th, Tomio came in great haste to the tents, and taking Mr. Banks by the arm, told him that Tubourai Tamaide was dying, owing to something which had been given him by our people, and entreated him instantly to go to him. Accordingly Mr. Banks did so, and found the Indian very sick. He had been vomiting, and had thrown up a leaf which they said contained some of the poison. Mr. Banks having examined the leaf, found that it was tobacco, which the Indian had begged from some of the ship's company. He ordered him to drink cocoa-nut milk, which soon restored him.

On the 1st of May, a chief, who had dined with the captain sometime before, accompanied by some of his women, who used to feed him, came on board alone. At dinner the captain helped him to some victuals, supposing that he would have dispensed with the ceremony of being fed, but the chief never attempted to eat, and would have gone without his dinner if one of the servants had not fed him. The officers took the astronomical quadrant and other instruments on shore that afternoon, but when they wanted to make use of the quadrant the next day, it was missing. A strict search was made in and about the fort, and a considerable reward was offered for it; but all proving fruitless, Mr. Banks, accompanied by Mr. Green and some others, set out for the woods, where they thought they might probably hear some tidings of what was stolen. On their way they met with Tubourai Tamaide and some of the natives, who were made to understand that they had lost the quadrant, and that, as some of their countrymen must have taken it, they insisted upon being shown the place where it was concealed. After some inquiry, the instrument was recovered, and it was found that

It had received no real injury, though it had been taken to pieces.

When they returned in the evening, they were much surprised to find Tootahah under confinement in the fort, while a crowd of the natives surrounded the gate, discovering marks of the greatest anxiety for the fate of their chief. The occasion of his detention originated from the conduct of the Indians, who, alarmed at Captain Cook's having gone up the country with an armed party, left the fort that evening, and one of the canoes attempted to quit the bay. The lieutenant who commanded on board the ship, having received orders not to suffer any canoes to depart, sent a boat to detain her, but she no sooner approached than the Indians jumped into the sea. Tootahah being of the number, was taken and sent to the officer who commanded at the fort, who concluded he should do right to detain him prisoner. The poor chief expected to be put to death, until Captain Cook caused him to be liberated, to the great joy of his countrymen. But the natives entertained a sense of injury, and, as a proof of it, they neglected to supply the market with provisions.

On the 3rd of May provisions were extremely scarce, and it was not without difficulty that Mr. Banks got a few baskets of bread-fruit from Tubourai Tamaide. Tootahah, on the 4th, sent for an axe and a shirt, in return for the hogs he had left behind; and accordingly, early in the morning of the 5th, Captain Cook, accompanied by Mr. Banks and the doctor, set out in the pinnace, taking with them one of Tootahah's people, and soon reached Eparre, where he resided. When they arrived, they found a number of natives waiting for them on shore, and were conducted directly to the chief, the people, notwithstanding the offence they had so lately taken, shouting out in their language, "Tootahah is your friend." He was sitting under a tree, and some old men were standing about him. Having made signs for them to be seated, he asked for the axe, which was then given him by Captain Cook, as also the shirt, and a broad-cloth garment, which latter he put on, and was well pleased with the present. They were afterwards conducted to a large court-yard on one

side of the chief's house, where they were entertained with wrestling, after the manner of the country. He himself sat at the upper end of the arena, having on each side of him several of his principal men as judges of the sport, which was conducted as follows :—

Ten or twelve combatants entered the arena, and after many simple ceremonies of challenging, engaged, each endeavouring to throw his antagonist by mere strength : they seized each other by the hand, or other parts of the body, and without the least art, till one, by having a greater hold, or stronger muscular force, threw his antagonist on his back. The conquest was applauded by the old men with a few words, repeated in a kind of tune, and with three huzzas. After one engagement another succeeded : if the combatants could not throw each other in the space of a minute, they parted, either by consent, or the intervention of their friends. A man with a stick officiated as master of the ceremonies, keeping order among the people, and those of them who pressed forward he struck with his stick very smartly. During these athletic sports, another party of men performed a dance for the space of a minute, but neither of these parties took the least notice of each other, their attention being wholly fixed on their own endeavours to please and conquer. At the conclusion of this entertainment, not unlike the wrestling matches of remote antiquity, they were told that some hogs and a quantity of bread-fruit were preparing for dinner ; but their host, instead of setting his two hogs before them, ordered one of them to be carried into the boat. Here they thought to have enjoyed their good cheer, but, at the desire of Tubourai Tamaide, they proceeded to the ship. However, they were at last gratified with the promised repast, of which the chief and his friends had a liberal share. This friendly reconciliation operated on the natives like a charm, for it was no sooner known that Tubourai Tamaide was on board, than provisions of all kinds were brought to the feast in great plenty.

By this time the forge was set up and at work, which afforded a new subject of admiration to the natives, and to

Captain Cook an additional opportunity of conferring obligations on them, by permitting the smith, in his leisure hours, to convert the old iron which they were supposed to have procured from the *Dolphin* into various kinds of tools.

On the 10th they sowed, in ground properly prepared, seeds of melons and other plants, but none of them came up except mustard. Mr. Banks thought the seeds were spoiled by a total exclusion of fresh air, they having all been put into small bottles, and sealed up with rosin. They learnt this day that the Indians called the island Otaheite, the name by which it is now distinguished. They were not so fortunate in endeavouring to teach them their names; and after repeated attempts to pronounce them, which proved fruitless, the natives had recourse to new names of their own invention. Captain Cook they named Toote; Mr. Hicks, Hete; the master they called Boba, from his Christian name, Robert; Mr. Gore, Toarro; Dr. Solander, Toano; Mr. Banks, Tapane; and so on with the greater part of the ship's crew.

On the 13th, Tubourai Tamaide offended Mr. Banks by snatching his gun out of his hand, and firing it in the air, an action which much surprised that gentleman, as he imagined him totally ignorant of the use of it. As consideration for their safety imperatively required that these people should not acquire the use of firearms, Mr. Banks made a serious matter of what probably the other meant only as a joke; and, not without threats, gave him to understand that to touch the piece was a great insult. The offender made no reply, but set out immediately with his family for Eparre. Great inconvenience being apprehended from this man, and as in many instances he had been particularly useful, Mr. Banks determined to follow him. He set out the same evening from the fort, accompanied by Mr. Molineux, and found him in the middle of a large circle of people, the picture of extreme grief, which was also visible in the countenances of his attendants. Mr. Banks lost no time in effecting a reconciliation with the chief, and a double canoe being got ready they all returned together



to the fort before supper, and as a pledge of reconciliation both he and his wife passed the night in the tent of Mr. Banks.

On Monday, the 15th, Tubourai Tamaide was detected in a theft. Mr. Banks had a good opinion of this chief, but a basket of nails, left in the corner of the tent, proved irresistible. He confessed the fact of having stolen four nails, but when restitution was demanded, Tamaide said the nails were at Eparre. High words passed, and the Indian produced one of the nails, and was to be forgiven on restoring the rest; but his virtue was not equal to the task, and he withdrew himself as usual, when he had committed an offence.

On the 27th, Mr. Banks, Dr. Solander, Captain Cook, and some others, set out in the pinnace to visit Tootahah, who had again removed to a place called Atahouro, six miles from his last abode. Having presented him with a yellow stuff petticoat and other trifling articles, they were invited to supper and to pass the night there. The party consisted of six only, but the place was crowded with a greater number than the houses and canoes could contain. Among the guests was Oberea, with her train of attendants. Mr. Banks, having accepted of a lodging in Oberea's canoe, left his companions in order to retire to rest. Oberea had the charge of his clothes; but, notwithstanding her care, they were stolen, as were also his pistols, his powder-horn, and several other things out of his waistcoat pockets. An alarm was given to Tootahah in the next canoe, who went with Oberea in search of the thief, leaving Mr. Banks with only his breeches and waistcoat on, and his musket uncharged. They soon returned, but without success, and Mr. Banks thought proper to put up with the loss at present, and he then proceeded to find his companions. He found the hut where Captain Cook and three other gentlemen slept, and they told him that they had lost their stockings and jackets. In effect, Dr. Solander, who joined them the next morning, was the only one that escaped being robbed, and he had slept at a house that was a mile distant.

Preparations were now made for viewing the transit of Venus, and two parties were sent out to make observations from different spots, so that in case of failing at Otaheite, they might succeed elsewhere. They employed themselves in preparing their instruments, and instructing in the use of them those gentlemen who were to go out; and on Thursday, the 1st of June, they sent the long boat, with Mr. Gore, Mr. Monkhouse (the two observers), and Mr. Sporing, a friend of Mr. Banks, with proper instruments, to Eimayo. Others were sent to find out a spot that might answer the purpose, at a convenient distance from their principal station.

The party that went towards Eimayo, after rowing the greater part of the night, having hailed a canoe, were informed by the Indians of a place which was judged proper for their observatory. On this rock, which rose out of the water, about 140 yards from the shore, they fixed their tents.

On Saturday, the 3rd, the day of the transit, Mr. Banks, as soon as it was light, left them in order to go and get fresh provisions on the island, and had the satisfaction of seeing the sun rise without a cloud. The king, whose name was Tarrao, came to pay him a visit, and brought with him Nuna, his sister. As it was customary for the people to be seated at their conferences, Mr. Banks spread his turban of Indian cloth, which he wore as a hat, upon the ground, and they all sat down. Then the king's presents, consisting of a hog and a dog, some cocoa-nuts and bread-fruit, were brought, and Mr. Banks presented in return an adze, a shirt, and some beads, which his Majesty received with apparent satisfaction. The king, his sister, and three good-looking young women, their attendants, then accompanied Mr. Banks to the observatory, where he showed them the transit of Venus over the sun's disc, and informed them that his sole object in undertaking a voyage from remote regions was to view the planet in that situation. Both the parties that were sent out to make observations on the transit met with good success, though they differed more than might have been expected in

their records of the contact. Mr. Green's account was as follows :—

MORNING.			
	Hours.	Min.	Sec.
The first external contact, or appearance of Venus on the Sun	9	45	4
The first internal contact, or total immersion . . . . .	9	44	4
AFTERNOON.			
The second internal contact, or beginning of the immersion .	3	14	8
The second external contact, or total immersion . . . . .	3	38	10
Latitude of the Observatory, 17° 29' 15".			
Longitude, 149° 31' 30" W. of Greenwich.			

While the gentlemen and officers were busied in viewing the transit, some of the ship's company broke into the store-room and stole a quantity of spike-nails. After a strict search the thief was discovered, and was ordered to receive two dozen lashes.

On account of the absence, on the 4th of June, of the two parties sent out to observe the transit, Captain Cook deferred keeping the birthday of King George the Third to the next day, the 5th. when it was celebrated, and several of the Indian chiefs partook of the entertainment, and drank his Majesty's health in the name of Kihiarago, the nearest imitation they could produce of King George. On the 12th, complaint was made that the Indians had lost some of their bows and arrows and strings of plaited hair; the affair was inquired into, and being well attested, the offending sailors each received two dozen lashes, which appears to have been the limit of the corporal punishment ever inflicted by Captain Cook, whose humanity appears in marked contrast to that of naval commanders of his time, when frequently many hundred lashes were adjudged for offences that would now be punished by two dozen, or fifty lashes at the outside.

On the 19th, in the evening, Oberea and several of her attendants paid the *Endeavour* a visit. She came from Tootahah's palace in a double canoe, and brought with her a hog, bread-fruit, and other presents, among which was a dog. Tupia undertook to kill and dress the dog, which he did by making a hole in the ground and baking it, and it was esteemed a very good dish.

On the 21st they were visited by many of the natives, who brought with them various presents. Among the rest was a chief named Oamo, accompanied by a boy and a young woman. Oberea and some of the Indians went from the fort to meet them, bareheaded, and uncovered as low as the waist, which the English judged to be marks of respect usually shown to persons of high rank. When Oamo entered the tent, the young woman, though seemingly very curious, could not be prevailed upon to accompany him. The youth was introduced by Dr. Solander, but as soon as the Indians saw him, they took care to have him sent out.

Curiosity being raised by these circumstances, they made inquiry concerning the strangers, and were informed that Oamo was the husband of Oberea, but that by mutual consent they had been for a considerable time separated, and the boy and girl were their children. The former was called Terridiri; he was heir-apparent to the sovereignty of the islands, and when he attained the proper age was to marry his sister.

On the 23rd, in the morning, one of the crew being missing, they were told he was at Eparre, Tootahah's residence in the wood, and one of the Indians offered to fetch him back. On his return, he said that he had been taken from the fort and carried to the top of the bay by three men, who forced him into a canoe, after having stripped him, and conducted him to Eparre, where he received some clothes from Tootahah, who endeavoured to prevail on him to continue there. There was reason to conclude this account true, for the natives were no sooner acquainted with his return than they left the fort with precipitation.

On June the 26th, early in the morning, Captain Cook setting out in the pinnace with Mr. Banks, sailed to the eastward, with a view of circumnavigating the island. Coming to a large bay, they mentioned their design of going to the other side; but their Indian guide, whose name was Titubaola, said he would not accompany them, and also endeavoured to dissuade them from going, observing, "that the country was inhabited by people who were not subject to

Tootahah, and who would destroy them all." They resolved, however, to put their design into execution, and on loading their pieces with ball, Titubaolo ventured to go with them.

Having rowed till it was dark, they reached a narrow isthmus which divided the island into two parts, which formed distinct governments. They landed in the district of a chief called Maraitata, a name which signifies the burying place of men; his father was called Pahairedede—that is, a stealer of boats. The people, however, gave the captain a very good reception, sold them a hog for a hatchet, and furnished them with provisions.

A crowd of the natives came round the English gentlemen, who continued to advance until they reached a district under the government of Waheatua. They proceeded on their journey for a considerable way along the shore, till at last they were met by the chief, who had with him an agreeable woman of about twenty-two years of age, who was called Toudiddi.

The parts which they now passed appeared to be better cultivated than any of the rest, and the burial-places, which were neat and ornamented with carvings, were more numerous.

A little further to the eastward they landed again, and were met by Mathiabo, a chief, with whom they were unacquainted. He supplied them with bread-fruit and coconuts, and they purchased a hog for a glass bottle, which he chose in preference to all the other articles presented for his acceptance. A turkey and a goose were seen here, which were much admired by the natives, and were supposed to have been left by Captain Wallis's people. When they left the place the chief piloted them over the shoals. In the evening, on their arrival at a bay on the north-west side of the island, they met with a very friendly reception from the chief, whose name was Wiverou, with whom they supped, in company with Mathiabo. Part of the house was allotted for them to sleep in, and soon after supper they retired to rest. The thieving propensities of these people, from the chiefs downward, were incorrigible, and again received an illustration

in the conduct of Mathiabo, who, having borrowed a cloak from Mr. Banks, to serve as a coverlet when he lay down, made off with it. News of the robbery was brought them by one of the natives, and they set out in pursuit of Mathiabo, but had proceeded only a little way before they were met by a person bringing back the cloak, which this person had given up through fear.

On their return they found the house entirely deserted, and about four in the morning the sentry gave the alarm that the boat was missing. Their situation now was extremely disagreeable. The party consisted of only four, with one musket and two pocket pistols, without a spare ball or a charge of powder. After remaining a considerable time in a state of anxiety, the boat, which had been driven away by the tide, returned ; and Mr. Banks and his companions had no sooner breakfasted than they set out on their return.

On Friday, the 30th, they arrived at Otahorou, where they found their old acquaintance Tootahah, who received them with great civility, and provided them a good supper and convenient lodgings ; and though they had been so shamefully plundered the last time they slept with this chief, they spent the night in the greatest security, none of their clothes nor any article being missing the next morning. They arrived at the fort at Port Royal Harbour on the 1st of July.

After their return from this tour, they were very much in need of bread-fruit, but their Indian friends soon supplied their wants.

On the 3rd Mr. Banks made an excursion in order to trace the river up the valley to its source, and to note the condition of the country along its banks. He took some Indian guides with him, and after passing houses for about six miles along its course, came to one which was said to be the last that could be met with. The master presented them with cocoa-nuts and other fruits, and they proceeded on their walk. In the course of their journey they often passed through vaults, formed by rocky fragments, in which, as they were told, benighted travellers sometimes took shelter.

Pursuing the course of the river about six miles further, they found it banked on both sides by rocks almost 100 feet in height, and nearly perpendicular. Mr. Banks sought in vain for minerals among the rocks, which, though bare on almost all sides, were destitute of such substances. The stones everywhere exhibited signs of having been burnt, which was the case with all the stones that were found while they stayed at Otaheite; and both there and in the neighbouring islands the traces of fire were evident in the clay upon the hills.

On the 4th a great quantity of the seeds of the water-melon, oranges, limes, and other plants, brought from Rio de Janeiro, were planted on each side of the fort by Mr. Banks, who also plentifully supplied the Indians with them, and planted many of them in the woods. Some melons, the seeds of which had been sown on their first arrival on the island, grew up and flourished before they left it.

Preparations were now made to depart. The carpenters being ordered to take down the gates and palisades of the fort, to be converted into firewood for the *Endeavour*, one of the natives stole the staple and hook of the gate; he was pursued in vain, but the property was recovered and returned by Tubourai Tamaide.

Between the 8th and 9th two young marines one night withdrew themselves from the fort, their absence being discovered in the morning. Notice having been given the next day that the ship would sail on that or the ensuing day, Captain Cook began to suspect that they designed to remain on shore; but as no means could be taken to recover them without running a risk of destroying the harmony that subsisted with the natives, he resolved to wait a day, in hopes of their returning. But as they were still missing on the 10th, an inquiry was made after them, when the Indians declared that they did not purpose to return, having taken refuge among the mountains, where it was impossible for them to be discovered, and that each of them had taken a wife. In consequence of this, it was intimated to several of the chiefs who were in the fort, with the women, among whom

was Tubourai Tamaide, Tomio, and Oberea, that they would not be suffered to quit it till the deserters were produced. They did not show any signs of fear or discontent, but assured the captain that the marines should be sent back. In the meantime Mr. Hicks was despatched in the pinnace to bring Tootahah on board the ship, and he executed his commission without giving any alarm. Night coming on, Captain Cook thought it imprudent to let the people whom he had detained as hostages remain at the fort ; he therefore gave orders to remove them on board, which greatly alarmed them all, especially the females, who testified their fears by floods of tears.

In the evening one of the marines was brought back by some of the natives, who reported that the other, and two of our men who went to recover them, would be detained till Tootahah was released. Upon this Mr. Hicks was immediately sent off in the long boat, with a strong body of men to rescue the prisoners ; at the same time the captain told Tootahah that it was incumbent on him to assist them with some of his people, and to give orders, in his name, that the men should be set at liberty, for that he would be held answerable for the event. Tootahah immediately complied and the party recovered the men without opposition. On examining the deserters, it appeared that the Indians had told the truth, they having associated with the females, with whom they intended to have remained in the island. Tupia, who had been prime minister to Oberea when she was supreme, and being also chief priest, was well acquainted with the religion of the country, had often expressed a desire to go with them whenever they continued their voyage.

On the morning of the 12th of July he came on board, with a boy about twelve years of age, his servant, named Taiyota, and earnestly requested permission to accompany them. As it was thought he would be useful to them, his request was complied with. Tupia then went on shore for the last time, to bid farewell to his friends, to whom he gave several small tokens of remembrance.

Mr. Banks, being desirous of obtaining a drawing of the



Morai, which Tootahah had in his possession at Eparre, Captain Cook accompanied him thither in the pinnace, together with Dr. Solander. Immediately upon landing they repaired to Tootahah's house, where they were met by Oberea and several others. A general good understanding prevailed. Tupia came back with them, and they promised to visit the gentlemen early the next day, as they were told the ship would then sail.

On the 13th these friendly people came very early on board, and the ship was surrounded with a vast number of canoes, filled with Indians of the lower sort. Between eleven and twelve they weighed anchor, and took their leave of the natives, who could not restrain their tears. Tupia supported himself through this scene with a becoming fortitude, and though tears flowed from his eyes, the effort he made to conceal them did him additional honour. He went with Mr. Banks to the mast-head, and waving his hand, took a last farewell of his country. Thus they departed from Otabeite, after a stay of just three months.

According to Tupia's account, this island could furnish above 6,000 fighting men. The produce is bread-fruit, coconuts, bananas, sweet potatoes, yams, sugar-canes, the paper mulberry, several sorts of figs, with many other plants and trees, all which the earth produces spontaneously, or with little culture. They have no European fruits, garden stuff, pulse, nor grain of any kind. The tame animals are hogs, dogs, and poultry; there are also wild ducks, pigeons, parroquets, and a few other birds. The only quadrupeds are rats, and not a serpent is to be seen. In the sea is a great variety of excellent fish, which constitute their greatest luxury.

The people in general are of a larger make than the Europeans. The males are mostly tall, robust, and finely shaped; the women of the higher class are about the size of our English ladies, but those of inferior rank are below our standard, and some of them very short. Their natural complexion is a fine clear olive, or what we call a brunette. Their skins are delicately smooth and agreeably soft; their faces in general are handsome, and their eyes full of

sensibility. Their teeth are remarkably white and regular, and their hair for the most part black. The men, unlike the aboriginal inhabitants of America, have long beards, which they wear in various shapes. Their motions are easy and graceful, and their behaviour, when unprovoked, affable and courteous. Contrary to the custom of most other nations, the women of this country cut their hair short, whereas the men wear it long, sometimes hanging loose upon their shoulders, at other times tied in a knot on the crown of the head, in which they stick the feathers of birds of various colours. A piece of cloth, of the manufacture of the country, is frequently tied round the heads of both sexes in the manner of a turban, and the women plait their human hair into long strings, which are tied on the forehead by way of ornament.

They stain their bodies by indenting or pricking the flesh with a small instrument of bone, cut into short teeth, which indentures they fill with a dark blue or blackish mixture prepared from the smoke of an oily nut and water. This operation, called by the natives *tattaowing*, whence we derive the term *tattooing*, is exceedingly painful, and leaves an indelible mark on the skin. It is usually performed when they are about ten or twelve years of age, and on different parts of the body; the instrument employed has twenty teeth, and at each stroke blood issues; both males and females are compelled to undergo the operation. They clothe themselves in cloth and matting of various kinds; the first they wear in fine, the latter in wet weather. The garments are in different forms, no shape being observed in the pieces, nor are they sewed together. The women of the superior class wear three or four pieces; one, which is of considerable length, they wrap several times round the waist, and it falls down to the middle of the legs. Two or three other short pieces, with a hole cut through the middle of each, are placed one on another, and their heads coming through the holes, the long ends hang before and behind, while both sides being open, they have the free use of their arms.

The dress of the men is very similar, differing only in this,

that one part of the garment, instead of falling below the knees, is brought between the legs. This dress is worn by all ranks of people, the only distinction being quantity in the superior class. At noon both sexes appear almost naked, wearing only a piece of cloth tied round the waist. Their faces are shaded from the sun with small bonnets made of cocoa-nut leaves or matting, which they construct in a few minutes. The men sometimes wear a sort of wig of human or dog's hair, or of cocoa-nut strings, woven on a single thread, and hanging down behind. Both men and women wear ear-rings on one side, consisting of shells, stones, berries, or small pearls; but they soon gave the preference to the beads brought by the *Endeavour's* company. The boys and girls go quite naked; the first till they are seven or eight years old, the latter till they are about five.

The natives of Otaheite seldom use their houses but to sleep in or to avoid the rain, and they eat their meals under the shade of a tree. Their clothes serve them for covering at night. There are no divisions or apartments; the master and his wife repose in the middle, next the unmarried females, then the unmarried men, and in fair weather the servants sleep in the open air. The houses of the chiefs, however, differ in some particulars. There are some very small, and so constructed as to be carried in canoes; all sides of them are enclosed with the leaves of the cocoa-nut; the air nevertheless penetrates. In these the chief and his wife only sleep. There are also houses which are general receptacles for the inhabitants of a district, many of them being more than 200 feet in length, 40 in breadth, and 70 or 80 feet high. They are constructed at the common expense, and have an area on one side, surrounded with low palisades, but, like the others, without walls.

The cookery consists chiefly in baking. When a chief kills a hog, which is seldom, he divides it equally among his vassals. Dogs and towels are more common food. When the bread-fruit is not in season, cocoa-nuts, bananas, plantains, &c., are substituted in its stead. They bake their bread-fruit in a manner which renders it somewhat like a

mealy potato. Of this three dishes are made by beating them up with bananas, plantains, or sour paste, which is called by them mahie. Their drink is generally confined to water, or the milk of the cocoa-nut; some of them would drink so freely of the English liquors as to become quite intoxicated, though they were never known to practise a debauch of this kind a second time. It was said that their chiefs sometimes became inebriated by drinking the juice of a plant called ava, but of this not a single instance occurred during the time the *Endeavour* remained at the island.

Chiefs eat generally alone, unless when visited by a stranger, who is permitted sometimes to be a mess-mate. They sit on the ground, with leaves of trees spread before them as a table-cloth. Their attendants, who are numerous, having placed a basket before the chiefs, containing their provisions, and cocoa-nut shells of fresh and salt water, seat themselves around them; they then wash their mouths and hands; after which they eat a handful of bread-fruit and fish, dipped in salt water, alternately, till the whole is consumed, taking a sip of salt water between almost every morsel. The bread-fruit and fish is succeeded by a second course, consisting of either plantains or apples, which they never eat without being pared. During this time a soft fluid of paste is prepared from the bread-fruit, which they drink out of cocoa-nut shells. This concludes the meal, and they wash their hands and mouths again as at the beginning. They eat an astonishing amount of food at a meal. Mr. Banks and others saw one of them devour three fish of the size of a small carp, four bread-fruits as large as a common melon, thirteen or fourteen plantains seven inches long, and above half as big round, to all which was added a quart of paste to wash down and digest the whole.

The inhabitants of this island, though apparently fond of the pleasures of society, have yet an aversion to holding any intercourse with each other at their meals, and they are so rigid in the observance of this custom, that even brothers and sisters have their separate baskets of provisions, and generally sit some yards apart, when they eat with their

backs to each other, and without exchanging a word. The middle-aged of superior rank usually take a siesta after dinner, but older people are not so indolent.

Music, dancing, wrestling, and shooting with the bow constitute the greatest part of their diversions. Flutes and drums are the only musical instruments among them. Their drums are formed of a circular piece of wood, hollow at one end only, which is covered with the skin of a shark, and beaten with the hand instead of a stick. Their songs are extempore and frequently in rhyme, but consisting only of couplets, which are often sung by way of evening amusements, between sunset and bed-time; during this interval they burn candles made of an oily nut, fixing them one above another upon a small stick, which is run through the middle. Some of these candles will burn a long time and afford a good light.

Personal cleanliness is much esteemed among these Indians. Both sexes are particular in washing three times a day—when they rise, at noon, and again before they go to rest. They are also cleanly in their clothes, so that no disagreeable effluvia are found to arise in the largest assemblies.

Cloth is the chief manufacture of Otaheite, and of this there are three sorts, which are made out of the bark of different trees, namely, the mulberry, the bread-fruit, and a tree which bears some resemblance to the West Indian wild fig-tree. The first of these produces the finest cloth, which is seldom worn but by those of the first rank. The next quality is made of the bread-fruit tree, and the coarsest of that which resembles the wild fig-tree. This last sort, though the coarsest, is manufactured only in small quantities.

Matting of various kinds is another manufacture in which in many respects they excel Europeans. They make use of the coarser quality to sleep upon, and in wet weather they wear the finer. They excel in basket and wicker work, and both men and women employ themselves in working them in a great variety of patterns. They make ropes and lines in all sizes of the bark of the poerou, and their nets for fish-

ing are made of these lines. They make thread of the fibres of the cocoa-nut, with which they fasten together the several parts of their canoes, the forms of which are various, according to the use to which they are applied. The fishing-lines are esteemed the best in the world, made of the bark of the erowa, a kind of nettle which grows on the mountains. They are strong enough to hold the heaviest and most vigorous fish, such as bonetas and albicores.

The tools which these people make use of for building houses, constructing canoes, hewing stones, and for felling, cleaving, carving, and polishing timber, consist of nothing more than an adze of stone and a chisel of bone, most commonly that of a man's arm; and for a file, or polisher, they make use of a rasp of coral and coral sand. The blades of their adzes are extremely tough, but not very hard; they are of various sizes, those for felling wood weigh six or seven pounds, and others, which are used for carving, only a few ounces.

Some of the smaller boats are made of the bread-fruit tree, which is wrought without much difficulty, being of a light spongy nature. Instead of planes, they use their adzes with great dexterity. Their canoes are all shaped with the hand, the Indians not being acquainted with the method of warping a plank. Of these they have two kinds, one used for short trips, and the other for longer voyages. These boats are in no degree proportionate, being from 60 to 70 feet in length, and not more than a thirtieth part in breadth. The ivahahs, or war-boats, are fastened together side by side when they go to sea, at the distance of a few feet, by strong wooden poles, which are laid across them and joined to each side. A stage or platform is raised on the forepart, about 10 or 12 feet long, upon which stand the fighting men, whose missile weapons are slings and spears. Beneath these stages the rowers sit, who supply the place of those who are wounded. The pahies, or sea-going boats, in going from one island to another, are out sometimes a month, and often a fortnight or twenty days, and if they had convenience to stow more provisions, they could keep the sea much longer. These vessels

are very useful in landing, and putting off from the shore in a surf, for by their great length and high stern they land dry, when the *Endeavour's* boats could scarcely land at all.

The care of the sick belongs to the priests, whose office is hereditary, and whose method of cure consists generally of prayers and ceremonies which are repeated till the patients recover or die.

The religion of these islanders appears to be very mysterious. The Supreme Being they style "The Causer of Earthquakes." They suppose that the chiefs and principal people will have the preference to those of lower ranks in a future state, and that the Deity takes no particular cognisance of their actions.

Their weapons consist of slings, in the use of which they are extremely dexterous, and of long clubs, remarkably hard, with which they fight obstinately and cruelly, giving no quarter to their enemies in battle.

On the 13th of July, 1769, the *Endeavour* quitted Otaheite. Captain Cook was informed by Tupia that four islands, which he called Huaheine, Ulietea, Otaha, and Bolabola, were at the distance of about one or two days' sail, and that hogs, fowls, and other refreshments, which had been very scarce, were to be got there in abundance.

On the 16th they sounded near the north-west part of the island of Huaheine, but found no bottom at seventy fathoms. Several canoes put off, but the Indians seemed fearful of coming near the ship, till the sight of Tupia removed their apprehensions. They then came alongside, and the king of the island, with his queen, came on board. They seemed surprised at whatever was shown them, but made no inquiries after anything but what was offered to their notice. The king, whose name was Oree, as a token of amity, proposed exchanging names with Captain Cook, which was readily acceded to.

Having anchored in a small but convenient harbour on the west side of the island (called by the natives Owparre), the captain went on shore, accompanied by Mr. Banks and some officers, with the king and Tupia. The moment they landed

Tupia uncovered himself as low as the waist, and desired Mr. Monkhouse to follow his example. Being seated, he began a speech which lasted about twenty minutes; the king, who stood opposite to him, answering him in what seemed set replies. During this harangue, Tupia delivered, at different times, a handkerchief, a black silk neckcloth, some plantains and beads, as presents to their Eatua or Deity; and in return received a hog, some young plantains, and two bunches of feathers, all which were carried on board. These ceremonies were considered as a kind of ratification of a treaty between the English and the King of Huaheine.

On the 19th, in exchange for some hatchets, they obtained three very large hogs. As they intended to sail in the afternoon, King Oree and others of the natives went on board to take their leave. Captain Cook presented to Oree a small pewter plate, stamped with this inscription, "His Britannic Majesty's Ship *Endeavour*, Captain Cook Commander. July 16th, 1769." They gave him also some medals or counters, resembling English coins, and other trifles, which he promised to keep. From Huaheine, which is about sixty miles from Otaheite, they sailed for the island of Ulietea, distant seven or eight leagues.

On the 20th the *Endeavour* anchored in a bay on the north side of that island. Two canoes soon came off from the shore, and the natives brought with them two small hogs, which they exchanged for some nails and beads. The captain, Mr. Banks, and other gentlemen now went on shore, accompanied by Tupia, who introduced them with the same kind of ceremonies that had taken place on their landing at Huaheine; after this Captain Cook took possession of this and the adjacent islands, in the name of his Britannic Majesty.

On the 24th they put to sea, and steered northward within the reef, towards an opening about five or six leagues distant, in effecting which they were in danger of striking on a rock, the soundings suddenly deepening to "two fathoms," supposed to be the edge of a coral rock, many of



which, in the neighbourhood of these islands, are as steep as a wall.

On the 25th they were within a league or two of the island of Otaha, but could not get near enough to land, the wind being contrary until the morning, when Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander went in the long-boat with the master, to sound a harbour on the east side of the island, which they found safe and convenient. They then went on shore and purchased a large quantity of plantains and some hogs and fowls.

They made sail to the northward, and finding themselves to windward of a harbour on the west side of Ulietea, on the 2nd of August, they moored in twenty-eight fathoms. Many of the natives came off and brought hogs, fowls, and plantains, which were purchased upon very moderate terms. Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander went on shore and spent the day very agreeably, the natives showing them very great respect. Being conducted to the houses of the chief people, they found those who had run hastily before them, standing on each side of a long mat spread upon the ground, and the family sitting at the further end of it.

In one of the houses they were entertained with a dance, different from any they had yet seen. The performer put upon his head a large piece of wicker-work, about four feet long, of a cylindrical form, covered with feathers, and edged round with shark's teeth. With this head-dress he began to dance with a slow motion, frequently moving his head so as to describe a circle with the top of his wicker cap, and sometimes throwing it so near the faces of the bystanders as to make them jump back. This they considered as an excellent piece of humour, and it always produced a hearty laugh when practised upon any of the English gentlemen. On the 3rd they met with another company of dancers, consisting of six men and two women. The dancers were some of the principal people of the island, and though they were an itinerant troop, they did not, like the strolling parties of Otaheite, receive any gratuity from the bystanders. The women wore a considerable quantity of plaited hair, ornamented with

flowers, which were stuck in with taste, and made an elegant head-dress. They advanced sideways, keeping time with great exactness to the drums, which beat quick and loud; soon after they began to shake themselves in a very whimsical manner, and put their bodies into a variety of strange postures, sometimes sitting down, and at others falling with their faces to the ground, and resting on their knees and elbows, moving their fingers at the same time with a quickness scarcely to be credited. Between the dances of the women a kind of dramatic interlude was performed by the men, consisting of dialogues as well as dancing; but they could not learn the subject of this interlude.

Mr. Banks, Dr. Solander, and some other gentlemen were present at a more regular dramatic entertainment the next day. The performers, who were all men, were divided into two parties, one dressed in brown, the other in white, by way of distinction. Tupia being present, informed them that the party in brown acted the parts of a master and his servants, and the party in white a gang of thieves. The master having produced a basket of meat, which he gave in charge to his servants, the party in white exhibited a variety of expedients in endeavouring to steal this basket, and the brown as many in preventing the accomplishment of the design. After some time had been spent in this manner, those to whom the basket was intrusted, laying themselves on the ground round it, pretended to fall asleep; the other party availed themselves of this opportunity, and carried off their booty; the servants awaking soon after, discovered their loss, but made no search after the basket, and began to dance with as much alacrity as before.

On Saturday, the 5th, some hogs and fowls, and several large pieces of cloth, many of them from forty to sixty yards in length, with a quantity of plantains and cocoa-nuts, were sent to Captain Cook as a present from the king of the neighbouring island of Bolabola, with a message to the effect that he was then on the island, and intended waiting on the captain. He, however, did not visit them according to his promise, but sent three young women to demand something

in return for his present. After dinner they set out to visit the king on shore, since he did not think proper to come on board. As he had conquered Bolabola, and was the dread of all the neighbouring islands, they were greatly surprised at finding a poor feeble old dotard, half blind, and sinking under the weight of age and infirmities. He received them without that state or ceremony which they had hitherto met with among the other chiefs. On the 9th, having stopped a leak, and taken on board a fresh stock of provisions, they sailed out of the harbour, and flattered themselves that the fowls and hogs would be a sufficient supply for the voyage, but in this they were disappointed, for the hogs could not be brought to eat European grain, or any provender that the ship afforded, and they were under the necessity of killing them immediately. The fowls also all died of a disease in the head, with which they were seized soon after they had been brought on board. Being detained longer at Ulitea in repairing the ship than they expected, they did not go on shore at Bolabola, but after giving the general name of "Society Islands" to the whole group, they pursued their course, standing to the southward for an island to which they were directed by Tupia, at about 100 leagues distant, which they discovered on the 13th, and were informed by him that it was called Ohiterea. On the 14th of August they stood in for the land, and as they approached observed that the Indians were armed with long lances. A number of them were soon drawn together on the beach, and two jumped into the water, endeavouring to gain the boat, but she soon left them, and some others who had made the same attempt, far behind.

Having doubled the point where they intended to land, they saw another party of natives standing at the end of it, armed like those whom they had seen before. Preparations being made for landing, a canoe full of Indians came off towards them. Tupia was desired to acquaint them that the English did not intend to offer violence but meant to traffic with them for nails, which were produced. Upon this they came alongside the boat, and accepted some nails which

were given them, appearing well pleased with the present. In a few minutes, however, several of these people boarded the boat, designing to drag her on shore ; but some muskets being discharged over their heads, they leaped into the sea, and having reached the canoe, joined their countrymen, who stood ready to receive them. The boat pursued the fugitives, but the crew finding the surf extremely violent, did not land, but coasted along shore, to find a more convenient place. After this it was proposed that the people of the *Endeavour* should go on shore and trade with the natives if they would lay aside their weapons ; but to this they would not agree unless the English would do the same. As treachery was anticipated, the proposal was not complied with ; and since neither the bay which the *Endeavour* entered, nor any other part of the island, furnished a good harbour or anchorage, it was resolved to proceed to the southward.

On the 15th they sailed with a fine breeze, and on the 25th celebrated the first anniversary of their leaving England. A large Cheshire cheese, which had been preserved for this festive occasion, was brought out, and a barrel of porter tapped, which proved to be in sound condition.

Land was discovered on Thursday, the 7th of October, and on the morning of the 8th\* they came to an anchor opposite the mouth of a small river, not above half a league from the shore. Captain Cook, Mr. Banks, Dr. Solander, and some others, went on shore in the evening, and proceeded to a few small houses in the neighbourhood. Some of the natives, who had concealed themselves, took advantage of their absence from the boat, and rushed out, advancing and brandishing their long wooden lances. The coxswain fired a musket over their heads, but it did not appear to intimidate them, in consequence of which he levelled his piece and shot one of them dead on the spot. Struck with astonishment at the death of their companion, they retreated to the woods

\* This day is memorable as that on which Captain Cook first landed in New Zealand, the pioneer of thousands of his countrymen, who have made of these islands a second Britain. The spot on the east coast on which he landed he called Poverty Bay.

with great precipitation. The report of the gun brought the advanced party back to the boats, and they returned immediately to the ship.

On the 9th a great number of the natives were seen near the place where the Englishmen landed the preceding evening, and the greater part of them appeared to be unarmed. The long-boat, pinnace, and yawl being manned with marines and sailors, Captain Cook, with the rest of the gentlemen and Tupia, went on shore, and landed on the opposite side of the river, over against a spot where several Indians were sitting on the ground. They immediately started up and began to handle their weapons, each producing either a long pike, or a kind of truncheon made of stone, with a string through the handle of it, which they twisted round their wrists. Tupia was directed to speak to them in his language ; and they were agreeably surprised to find that he was understood. Their intention at first appeared to be hostile, brandishing their weapons in the usual threatening manner ; upon which a musket was fired at some distance from them, and the ball happening to fall into the water they appeared terrified, and desisted from their menaces. Tupia informed them the English desired to traffic with them for provisions, to which they consented, provided the English crossed over to them to the other side of the river. This was agreed to, upon condition that the natives would quit their weapons ; but the most solemn assurances of friendship could not prevail with them to comply. Not thinking it prudent, therefore, to cross the river, the English in turn entreated the Indians to come over to them, and after some time one of them did so. He was presently followed by several others. They did not value the beads and iron that were offered in the way of barter, but proposed to exchange weapons, which being objected to, the Indians endeavoured to snatch the arms, but in this attempt they were frustrated, and Tupia gave them to understand that any further offers of violence would be punished with instant death. One of them, nevertheless, had the audacity to snatch Mr. Green's dagger when his back was

turned to them, and retiring a few paces, flourished it over his head ; but his temerity cost him dear, for Mr. Monkhouse fired a musket loaded with ball, and shot him dead. Soon after the natives retreated slowly inland, and the English returned to their boats. This behaviour of the Indians, added to the want of fresh water, induced Captain Cook to continue his voyage round the bay, with a hope of inducing some of the natives to come on board, so that by kind treatment he might establish a good understanding with them. An event occurred, which, though attended with disagreeable circumstances, promised to facilitate this design. Two canoes appeared, making towards land, and Captain Cook proposed intercepting them with his boats. One of them got clear off; but the Indians in the other, finding it impossible to escape, began to attack them with their paddles. This compelled the *Endeavour's* people to fire upon them, when four of the Indians were killed, and the other three, who were young men, jumped into the water and endeavoured to swim to shore; they were, however, taken up and conveyed on board. At first they were greatly terrified, thinking they should be killed; but Tupia, by repeated assurances of friendship, removed their apprehensions. Having retired to rest in the evening, they slept very quietly. The next morning preparations were made for sending them to their countrymen, at which they expressed great satisfaction; but finding the boat approaching Captain Cook's first landing-place, they intimated that the inhabitants were foes. The captain, nevertheless, judged it expedient to land near this spot, resolving, at the same time, to protect the youths from any injury that might be offered them. They had scarcely departed on their return to their friends when two large parties of Indians advanced hastily towards them, upon which they again flew to the English for protection. When the Indians drew near, one of the boys discovered his uncle among them, and a conversation ensued across the river, in which the boy gave a just account of our hospitality, and took great pains to display his finery. After this the uncle swam across the river, bringing with him a green bough, a token of

friendship, which was received as such, and several presents were made him. The three youths, by their own desire, returned to the ship; but as the captain intended to sail the next morning he sent them ashore in the evening, though much against their inclination.

Captain Cook, on the 11th, set sail in hopes of finding a better anchoring-place, and in the afternoon the *Endeavour* was becalmed. Several canoes, full of Indians, came off from the shore, who received many presents, and bartered their clothes and some of their paddles for European commodities. Having finished their traffic, they returned in such a hurry, that they forgot three of their companions, who remained on board all night. These testified their fears and apprehensions, notwithstanding Tupia took great pains to convince them that they were in no danger, and about seven o'clock the next morning a canoe came off, with four Indians on board. It was at first with difficulty the Indians in the ship could prevail on those in the canoe to come near them, and not till after the former had assured them that the English did not eat men.

On the 12th several Indians came off in a canoe; they were disfigured in a strange manner, danced and sang, and at times appeared peaceably inclined, but at others, to menace hostilities. Notwithstanding Tupia earnestly invited them to come on board, none of them would quit the canoe. Whilst the *Endeavour* was getting clear of the shoals, five canoes, full of Indians, came off, and seemed to threaten the people on board by brandishing their lances, and other hostile gestures. A 4-pounder, loaded with grape-shot, was therefore fired over their heads, which made them drop astern. Two more canoes came off whilst the *Endeavour* lay at anchor, but the Indians behaved very peaceably, and received several presents, but would not come on board.

On Friday, the 13th, they pursued their course. The next morning they had a view of the inland country. Nine canoes, full of Indians, came off from the shore, and five of them, after having consulted together, pursued the *Endeavour*,

apparently with a hostile design. Tupia was desired to acquaint them that immediate destruction would ensue if they persevered in their attempts; but words had no influence, and a 4-pounder, with grape-shot, was fired to give them some notion of the arms of their opponents. They were terrified at this kind of reasoning, and paddled hastily away. Tupia then hailed the fugitives, and acquainted them that if they came in a peaceable manner, and left their arms behind, no annoyance would be offered them, upon which one of the canoes, submitting to the terms, came alongside the ship, and received many presents.

On the 15th, in the afternoon, a canoe with a number of armed Indians came up, and one of them, who was clothed with a black skin, found means to defraud the captain of a piece of red baize, under pretence of bartering the skin for it. As soon as he had got the baize into his possession, instead of giving the skin in return agreeable to his bargain, he rolled them together and ordered the canoe to put off from the ship, turning a deaf ear to the repeated remonstrances of the captain. After a short time, this canoe, together with the fishing-boats which had put off at the same time, came back to the ship, and trade was again began. During this second traffic with the Indians, one of them unexpectedly seized Tupia's little boy, Taiyota, and pulling him into his canoe, instantly put off and paddled away with the utmost speed; several muskets were immediately fired at them, and one of them receiving a wound, they let go the boy, who before was held down in the bottom of the canoe. Taiyota, taking advantage of their consternation, immediately jumped into the sea and swam back towards the *Endeavour*. He was taken on board without receiving any harm, but his strength was so much exhausted with the weight of his clothes, that it was with great difficulty he reached the ship. In consequence of this attempt to carry off Taiyota, Captain Cook called the cape off which it happened, Cape Kidnappers.

The *Endeavour* now passed a small island, which was named Bare Island. On the 17th Captain Cook gave the name of Cape Turnagain to a headland, and on the 19th



named a peculiar-looking cape, Gable end Foreland. On Friday, the 20th, they anchored in a bay about two leagues further to the northward, to which they were invited by some natives in canoes, who behaved very amicably, and pointed to a place where they said they would find plenty of fresh water. Two chiefs came on board; they were dressed in jackets, the one ornamented with tufts of red feathers, the other with dog-skin. They were presented with linen and some spike-nails, though they did not value the last so much as the inhabitants of the other islands. The rest of the Indians traded without the least attempt at imposition, and Tupia was directed to acquaint them with the views of the English in coming hither, and promised that they should receive no injury if they offered none. In the afternoon the chiefs returned, and towards evening the captain, Dr. Solander, and Mr. Banks went on shore. They were courteously received by the inhabitants, who did not appear in numerous bodies, and in many instances were scrupulously attentive not to give offence. They made an agreeable tour round the bay, and had the pleasure of finding two streams of fresh water. They remained on shore all night, and the next day Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander discovered several birds, among which were quails and large pigeons. Many stages for drying fish were observed, and some houses with fences. They saw dogs with pointed ears, and very ugly. Sweet potatoes were found also. The cloth plant grew wild. In the neighbouring valleys the lands were laid out in regular plantations; and in the bay they caught plenty of crabs, cray-fish, and horse-mackerel, larger than those upon the English coasts.

The women paint their faces with a mixture of red ochre and oil, which, as they were very plain, rendered them even less prepossessing. The faces of the men were not in general painted, but they were daubed with dry red ochre from head to foot, their apparel not excepted. Though in personal cleanliness they were inferior to those of Otaheite, yet in some particulars they surpassed them.

On the evening of Sunday, the 22nd, they weighed anchor

and put to sea, but the wind being contrary, they stood for another bay a little to the south. They found a watering-place in a small cove a little within the south point of the bay, distant about a mile.

On Monday, the 23rd, in the afternoon, they went on shore, and found the water extremely good, also plenty of wood ; and the natives showed them much civility. In a valley between two very high hills, they saw a curious rock that formed a large arch. This cavern was 70 feet in length, 30 in breadth, and nearly 50 in height, and commanded a view of the bay and the hills on the other side.

On their return they met an old man, who entertained them with the military exercise of the natives, which he performed with the patoo-patoo and the lance. The former is used as a battle-axe ; and the latter is 18 or 20 feet in length, made of hard wood, and sharpened at each end. A stake was substituted for a supposed enemy. The old warrior first attacked him with his lance, advancing with a most furious aspect. Having pierced him, the patoo-patoo was used to demolish his head, at which he struck with a force which would at one blow have split any man's skull. At the watering-place the Indians sang their war-song, which was a strange medley of sighing, shouting, and grinace, at which the women assisted. The next day Captain Cook and other gentlemen went upon an island at the entrance of the bay and met with a canoe which was 67 feet in length, 6 in breadth, and 4 in height ; her bottom, which was sharp, consisted of three trunks of trees, and the sides and head were curiously carved.

They also came to a large unfinished house ; the posts which supported it were ornamented with carvings that did not appear to have been done upon the spot, though the people seemed to have a taste for carving, as their boats, paddles, and the tops of walking-sticks evinced. Their favourite figure is a volute or spiral, which is sometimes single, double, or triple. and is done with great exactness, though the only instruments were an axe, made of stone, and a chisel. Their taste is extremely whimsical and ex-

travagant, scarcely ever imitating nature. Their huts are built under trees, in the form of an oblong square ; the door low on the side, with the windows at the ends. Reeds covered with thatch compose the walls, the beams of the eaves, which come to the ground, being also covered with thatch.

On the 29th of October the *Endeavour* quitted the bay, and sailing to the northward, came to a small island about a mile distant from the north-east point of the mainland ; and this being the most eastern part of it, the captain named it East Cape, and the island East Island. Continuing under sail, they came to an island which he named White Island. On the 1st of November forty canoes came off as before, threatening to attack the *Endeavour*. One of their chiefs flourished his pike and made several harangues, seeming to bid defiance to those on board the vessel. At last, after repeated invitations, they came close alongside ; but instead of showing a disposition to trade, the haranguing chief took up a stone, which he threw against the ship, and they immediately after seized their arms. They were informed by Tupia of the dreadful consequences of commencing hostilities, but this admonition remained unheeded. A piece of cloth, however, happening to attract their eyes, they began to be more mild and reasonable. A quantity of cray-fish, muscles, and conger-eels were now purchased. No fraud was attempted by this company of Indians, but some others that came after them took goods from the vessel without making proper returns. As one of them, who had rendered himself remarkable for these practices, and seemed proud of his skill in them, was putting off with his canoe, a musket was fired over his head, which circumstance produced good order for the present ; yet when they began to traffic with the sailors they renewed their frauds, and one of them was bold enough to seize some linen that was hung to dry, and run away with it. In order to induce him to return, a musket was fired over his head, but this not answering the end, he was shot in the back with small shot, yet he still persevered in his design. This being perceived by his countrymen, they dropped astern

and set up the song of defiance. In consequence of their behaviour, though they made no preparations to attack the vessel, the captain gave orders to fire a 4-pounder, and its effects on the water so terrified them that they retreated with precipitation.

On the 4th, at daybreak, no less than twelve canoes made their appearance, containing nearly 200 men, armed with spears, lances, and stones, who seemed determined to attack the ship, and would have boarded her had they known which quarter was most suitable for attack. While they were paddling round her, the crew meantime being on the watch in the rain, Tupia, at the request of the captain, used a number of dissuasive arguments, to prevent their carrying their designs into execution ; but nothing could pacify them till some muskets were fired. They then laid aside their hostile intentions, and began to trade ; yet they could not refrain from their fraudulent practices, for, after they had fairly bartered two of their weapons, they would not deliver up a third, for which they had received cloth, and only laughed at those who demanded an equivalent. The offender was wounded with small shot, but his countrymen took not the least notice of him, and continued to trade without any discomposure.

On the morning of the 5th the Indians came off to the ship again, and behaved much better than they had done the preceding day. An old man in particular, named Tojava, informed them that they were often visited by freebooters from the north, who stripped them of all that they could lay their hands on, and at times made captives of their wives and children, and that, being ignorant who the English were after their first arrival, the natives had been much alarmed, but were now satisfied of their good intentions. He added that, for their security against those plunderers, their houses were built contiguous to the tops of the rocks, where they could better defend themselves. Having despatched the long-boat and pinnace into the bay to haul and dredge for fish with little success, the Indians testified their friendship, and brought for sale great quantities of fish dressed and dried ;

they also supplied them with wood and good water. While the English were out with their guns, the people who stayed by the boats saw two of the natives fight. The battle was begun with their lances, but some old men taking these away, they were obliged to decide the quarrel, like Englishmen, with their fists.

On the 9th the Indians brought a prodigious quantity of mackerel, which they sold at a low rate, and the cargoes purchased were so great that the ship's company cured as many as would serve for a month's provision.

This being a clear day, Mr. Green, the astronomer, landed with some of the gentlemen to observe the transit of Mercury. The observation of the ingress was made by Mr. Green alone, and Captain Cook took the sun's altitude to ascertain the time. While the observation was making, a canoe, with various commodities on board, came alongside the ship, and Mr. Gore, the officer who had then the command, being desirous of encouraging them to traffic, produced a piece of Otaheitean cloth, of more value than any they had yet seen, which was immediately seized by one of the Indians, who obstinately refused either to return it or give anything in exchange. He paid dearly, however, for his temerity, being shot dead on the spot. His death alarmed all the rest; they fled with great precipitancy, and could not be induced to renew their traffic. But when the Indians on shore had heard the particulars related by Tojava, who greatly condemned the conduct of the deceased, they seemed to think that he merited his fate.

The weather being favourable, the transit of Mercury was viewed without a cloud intervening. In consequence of this observation being made here, this bay was called Mercury Bay.

The Indians sup before sunset, when they eat fish and birds, baked or roasted on a stick planted in the ground near the fire. A female mourner was present at one of their suppers. She sat on the ground and wept incessantly, at the same time repeating some sentences in a doleful manner, but which Tupia could not explain. At the termination of each

period she cut herself with a shell upon her breast her hands, or her face. Notwithstanding this spectacle greatly affected the gentlemen, all the Indians who sat by her, except one, were quite unmoved.

Abundance of oysters were procured from a bed which had been discovered, and they proved exceedingly good. Next day the ship was visited by two canoes, who bartered with honesty. Captain Cook sailed from this island, having, on the 15th of November, taken possession of it in the name of his sovereign.

On the morning of the 18th the *Endeavour* steered between the mainland and an island, which seemed very fertile, and as extensive as Ulietea. Several canoes, filled with Indians, came alongside, and they sang their war-song, but the *Endeavour's* people paying them no attention, they threw a volley of stones and then paddled away; however, they presently returned and renewed their insults. Tupia spoke to them, but they answered by brandishing their weapons, intimating that they would destroy them all. The *Endeavour* cast anchor in the evening, and early the next morning sailed up an inlet. Soon after the canoes paddled off, and some of the Indians came on board. They knew Tojava, and called Tupia by his name. Having received some presents they returned peaceably, and apparently highly gratified.

On Monday, the 20th, after having run five leagues, they came to anchor in a bay called by the natives Ooahaouragee, which Captain Cook, Mr. Banks, Dr. Solander, and others, set off in the pinnace to examine. They landed on the west side to inspect the lofty trees that adorned its banks; at the entrance of a wood they met with a tree 98 feet high from the ground, quite straight, and 19 feet in circumference; and as they advanced they found others still larger. Captain Cook gave to this river the name of Thames, it having a resemblance to the river of that name in England.

They made sail early on the 22nd, and kept under weigh till the flood obliged them once more to come to an anchor. The captain and Dr. Solander went on shore to the west, but made no observations worth relating. After these gentlemen

departed, the ship was surrounded with canoes, and Mr. Banks remained on board, that he might trade with the Indians, who bartered their arms and clothes for paper ; but though they were in general honest in their dealings, one of them took a fancy to a half-minute glass, and being detected in secreting it, he was punished with the cat-o'-nine tails. The Indians attempted to interfere, and they got their arms from their canoes, but being informed of the nature of the intended punishment, they appeared satisfied, and the criminal not only received a dozen, but afterwards a good drubbing from an old man who was thought to be his father. On the 24th they kept steering along the shore, anchoring between the tides. No inhabitants were visible, but from the fires perceived at night, it was concluded to be inhabited.

On the 26th, towards night, seven large canoes paddled off with about 200 men, some of whom came on board. These were followed by two larger canoes, adorned with carving. The Indians, after holding a conference, came alongside the vessel. They were armed with various weapons, and seemed to be of the higher order. Their patoo-patoos were made of stone and whalebone, ornamented with dogs' hair, and were held in high estimation.

On the 29th, having weathered a point of land which the captain named Cape Brett, they bore away to leeward, and got into a large bay, where they anchored on the south-west side of several islands, and the ship was soon surrounded by thirty-three large canoes, containing nearly 300 Indians, all armed. Some of them were admitted on board, and Captain Cook gave a piece of broadcloth to one of the chiefs and some small presents to the others. They traded peaceably for some time, being terrified at the firearms, with the effects of which they were not unacquainted ; but whilst the captain was at dinner, on a signal given by one of the chiefs, all the Indians quitted the ship and attempted to tow away the buoy. A musket was first fired over them, but without effect, and then small shot was fired at them, but it fell short. A musket, loaded with ball, was therefore ordered to be fired, and a son of the chief was wounded in the thigh

by it, which induced them immediately to throw the buoy overboard. To complete their confusion, a round shot was fired which reached the shore, and as soon as they landed they ran to search for it. If they had been under any kind of discipline they might have proved a formidable enemy.

Captain Cook, Mr. Banks, and Dr. Solander landed in a small cove in the island, and were presently surrounded by nearly 400 armed Indians; but the captain not suspecting any hostile design on the part of the natives, remained peaceably disposed. The Englishmen marching towards them, drew a line, intimating that they were not to pass it. They did not infringe upon this boundary for some time; but at length they sang the song of defiance, and began to dance, whilst a party endeavoured to drag the *Endeavour's* boat on shore; these signals for an attack being followed by the Indians breaking in upon the line, the gentlemen judged it time to defend themselves, and accordingly the captain fired his musket, loaded with small shot, which was seconded by Mr. Banks discharging his piece, and two of the men followed his example. This threw the Indians into confusion, and they retreated, but were rallied again by one of their chiefs, who shouted and waved his patoo-patoo. The doctor now pointed his musket at this hero, and hit him, when he took flight with the other Indians. They were now at too great a distance for a ball to reach them; but these operations being observed from the ship, she brought her broadside to bear, and by firing over them soon dispersed them. The Indians had in this skirmish two of their people wounded, but none killed. Peace being again restored, the gentlemen began to gather celery and other herbs, but suspecting that some of the natives were lurking about with evil designs, they repaired to a cave, where they found the chief who had that day received a present from the captain. He came forth with his wife and brother, and solicited their clemency. It appeared that one of the wounded Indians was a brother to this chief, who was under great anxiety lest the wound should prove mortal; but his grief was in a great degree alleviated, when he was made acquainted with the different effects of



small shot and ball ; and he was also assured that upon any further hostilities being committed, ball would be used. This interview terminated very cordially, after some trifling presents were made to the chief and his companions.

Being again in their boats, they rowed to another part of the island, when landing, and gaining an eminence, they had a very agreeable and romantic view of a great number of small islands, well inhabited and cultivated. The inhabitants of an adjacent village approached unarmed, and testified great humility and submission. Some of the seamen on shore, having forced their way into some of the plantations, and dug up potatoes, the captain showed strict justice in punishing each offender with lashes ; one of them being refractory upon this occasion, and complaining of the hardship of an Englishman being flogged for plundering an Indian, received six additional lashes.

On Tuesday, the 5th of December, they weighed anchor, but were soon becalmed, and a strong current setting towards the shore, were driven in with such rapidity, that they expected every moment to run upon breakers, which appeared above water not more than a cable's length distance. Indeed, they were so near the land that Tupia, who was totally ignorant of the danger, held a conversation with the Indians, who were standing on the beach. They were happily relieved, however, from this alarming situation by a fresh breeze suddenly springing up from the shore.

On the 7th, several canoes put off and followed the *Endeavour*, but a light breeze springing up they did not wait for them. On the 17th they came off the northern extremity of New Zealand, which Captain Cook named North Cape. On the 27th it blew a gale from the east, accompanied with heavy showers of rain, which compelled them to bring the ship to, under her mainsail. The gale continued till the 28th, when it fell about two o'clock in the morning, but at eight increased to a hurricane, with a prodigious sea : at noon the gale somewhat abated, but with heavy squalls.

January the 1st, 1770, at six in the morning, they tacked

and stood to the eastward, and on the 3rd they saw land, trending away to the south-east, beyond the reach of the naked eye. It is remarkable that the *Endeavour* was three weeks in making ten leagues to the westward, and five weeks in getting fifty leagues, the distance they were now from Cape Brett.

On the 9th they saw high land to the east-north-east, which the captain named Albatross Point. At about two leagues distance from this point, to the north-east, they discovered a remarkable high mountain, equal in height to that of Teneriffe. Its summit was covered with snow, and it was named Mount Egmont. At this place Captain Cook proposed to careen the ship, and also to take in a fresh supply of wood and water; accordingly, on the 15th, at day-break, they steered for an inlet, when, it being almost a calm, the ship was carried by a current or the tide within a cable's length of the shore, but she got clear by the assistance of the boats. At two they anchored in a safe cove on the north-west side of the bay, and moored in eleven fathoms of water, with a soft bottom. Four canoes came off for the purpose, as we imagined, of reconnoitering; for none of the Indians would venture on board except an old man, who seemed of elevated rank. His countrymen expostulated with him, laid hold of him, and took great pains to prevent his coming on board, but they could not divert him from his purpose. He was received with the utmost hospitality. Tupia and the old man joined noses, according to the custom of the country, and having received several presents, he returned to his associates, who began to dance and laugh, and then retired to their fortified village.

Captain Cook and other gentlemen now went on shore, where they met with plenty of wood, and a fine stream of excellent water, and on hauling the seine were very successful, having caught three hundredweight of fish in a short time.

On the 16th the crew were employed in careening the ship, when three canoes came off, with a number of Indians, and brought several of their women with them, a circumstance

which was thought to be a favourable presage of their peaceable disposition ; but they soon gave proofs to the contrary by attempting to stop the long-boat, when Captain Cook had recourse to the old expedient of firing shot over their heads, which intimidated them for the present. Tupia asked them if they had ever before seen a ship so large as the *Endeavour*, to which they replied in the negative ; nor had they heard that such a vessel had ever been on their coast. The inhabitants catch their fish, which are plentiful here, in cylindrical nets, extended by several hoops at the bottom and contracted at the top. The fish going in to feed upon the bait are caught in great abundance. There are also birds of various kinds, and in great numbers.

Captain Cook, Mr. Banks, and Dr. Solander visited another cove, about two miles from the ship. They found here a family of Indians, who appeared greatly alarmed at their approach ; these people were cannibals, there being several human bones that had lately been dressed and picked. They made no secret of this abominable custom, but, with great composure, answered Tupia, who was desired to ascertain the fact, that his conjectures were just, that they were the bones of a man, and testified by signs that they thought human flesh delicious food. There was a woman in this family whose arms and legs were cut in a shocking manner, and it appeared that she had thus wounded herself because her husband had lately been killed and eaten by the enemy.

Some of the Indians brought four skulls one day to sell, which they rated at a very high price. They seemed to pride themselves upon their cruelty and barbarity, and took a particular pleasure in showing the manner in which they killed their enemies. This was done by first knocking them down with their patoo-patoos, and then ripping up their bellies.

On the 20th, in the morning, Mr. Banks purchased of the old Indian a man's head, which he seemed very unwilling to part with. The skull had been fractured by a blow, and the brains were extracted, and, like the others, it was preserved from putrefaction. From the care with which they kept

these skulls, and the reluctance with which they bartered any, they were considered as trophies of war and testimonials of their valour. Some of the ship's company, in their excursions, met with fortifications that had not the advantage of an elevated situation, but were surrounded by two or three wide ditches, with a drawbridge, such as, though simple in its construction, would answer every purpose against the arms of the natives. Within these ditches is a fence made with stakes fixed in the earth.

On the 24th they visited a hippah, or fort, which was situated on a very high rock, hollow underneath, forming a very fine natural arch, one side of which joined the land and the other rose out of the sea. The inhabitants received them with great civility, and very readily showed everything that was curious.

On the 25th the captain, Mr. Banks, and Dr. Solander went on shore to shoot, when they met with a numerous family, who were among the creeks catching fish : they behaved very civilly, and received some trifling presents from the gentlemen, who were loaded, by way of return, with the kisses and embraces of both sexes, young and old. The next day, being the 26th, they made another excursion, in order to survey, from the summit of a hill, the strait which passes between the eastern and western seas. Before their departure from this hill they erected a pyramid of stones, and left some musket-balls, small shot, and beads, as memorials that this place had been visited by Europeans. On the 27th and 28th they were engaged in making necessary repairs, catching fish, and relitting the *Endeavour* for her voyage.

On Tuesday, the 30th, some of the people who were sent out early in the morning to gather celery, met with about twenty Indians, among whom were five or six women, whose husbands had lately been made captives. They sat down upon the ground together and cut many parts of their bodies in a most shocking manner with shells and sharp stones, in testimony of their excessive grief. In the meantime their male companions paid not the least attention to

them, but with the greatest unconcern imaginable employed themselves in repairing their huts.

The carpenter having prepared two posts, they were set up as memorials, being inscribed with the date of the year, and the month, and the ship's name. One of them was erected at the watering-place, with the union jack hoisted at the top, and the other in the island that lies nearest the sea, called by the natives Motuara ; and the inhabitants being informed that these posts were set up to acquaint other adventurers that the *Endeavour* had touched this place, they promised never to destroy them. Captain Cook named this inlet Queen Charlotte's Sound, and took possession of it in the name of his sovereign.

On the 5th of February they got under weigh, but the wind soon falling, came to anchor a little above Motuara.

On the following morning the *Endeavour* sailed out of the bay, which, from the savage custom of eating human flesh common to its people, the ship's company called Cannibal Bay. The inhabitants, who number about 400, are scattered along the coast, and upon any appearance of danger retire to their hippahs, or forts. They are poor, and their canoes are without ornaments. The traffic with them was wholly for fish ; but they had some knowledge of iron, which the natives of other parts, had not.

The *Endeavour* stood over to the eastward, and was carried by the current close to one of the islands at the entrance of Queen Charlotte's Sound. They were every moment in danger of being dashed to pieces against the rock, but after having veered out 150 fathoms of cable, the ship was brought up, when the rocks were not more than two cables' length distant. In this situation they remained, being obliged to wait for the tide's ebbing, which did not take place till after midnight.

On the 7th, at eight o'clock in the morning, they weighed anchor, and a fresh breeze, with an ebb tide, quickly bore them through the strait.

The next morning they were off Cape Palliser, and found that the land stretched away to the north-eastward of Cape

Turnagain. In the afternoon three canoes, ornamented like those on the northern coast, put off from the shore. There was no difficulty in persuading the Indians to come on board, and they demeaned themselves very civilly, a mutual exchange of presents taking place. Their dress resembled that of the natives of Hudson's Bay. One old man was tattooed in a very peculiar manner, and had likewise a red streak across his nose, while his hair and beard were remarkable for their whiteness. His upper garment was made of flax, and had a wrought border, and underneath he wore a sort of cloth petticoat. Teeth and green stones decorated his ears, and it was concluded, from his deportment, that he was a person of distinguished rank among his countrymen.

On the 14th about sixty Indians, in four double canoes, came within a stone's throw of the ship. As they surveyed her with surprise, Tupia endeavoured to persuade them to come nearer, but this they could not be prevailed upon to do. On this account the place was denominated the island of Lookers-on.

On the 4th of March several whales and seals were seen. On the 9th they saw a ledge of rocks, and soon after another ledge, at three leagues' distance from the shore, which they passed in the night to the northward, and at daybreak observed the others under the bows. Proceeding northward, the next day they fell in with a barren rock, about fifteen miles from the mainland, of great height, and apparently about a mile in circumference; this was named Solander's Island.

On the 13th they discovered a bay, containing several islands, where, if there was depth of water, shipping might find shelter from all winds. Dusky Bay was the appellation given to it by the captain, and five high-peaked rocks, for which it was remarkable, gave to a point the name of Five Fingers. They had now passed the whole north-west coast of Tovy Poenamoo, which had nothing worthy of observation but a ridge of naked and barren rocks covered with snow. As far as the eye could reach the prospect was wild, craggy, and desolate. Having sailed round the whole of this inhospitable

shore by the 27th, Captain Cook determined to depart. He accordingly went on shore in the long-boat, and having found a place suitable for mooring the ship, and a good watering-place, the crew began to fill their casks, while the carpenter was employed in cutting wood. The captain, Mr. Banks, and Dr. Solander went in the pinnace to examine the bay and the neighbouring country. Landing there, they found several plants of a species which was before unknown to them. No inhabitants appeared, but they saw several huts, which seemed to have been long deserted. Sufficient wood and water having been taken on board, the vessel was ready to sail by the time that they returned in the evening, and it was resolved to steer for the coast of New Holland, and return by the way of the East Indies.

On the 31st March they took their departure from an eastern point they named Cape Farewell; the bay from which they sailed was called Admiralty Bay, and the two capes, Cape Stephens and Cape Jackson, after the two secretaries of the Board of Admiralty. They called a bay between the island and Cape Farewell, Blind Bay, which was supposed to have been the same that was called Murderer's Bay by Abel Jansen Tasman, who first discovered New Zealand in December, 1642; but though he named it Staten Island, wishing to take possession of it for the States-General, yet, being attacked by the Indians, he never went on shore to effect his purpose. The coast, being now more accurately examined, was discovered to consist of two islands (now known as New Zealand), which were before thought to be a part of the southern continent so much sought for. They are situated between the 34th and 48th degrees of south latitude, and between the 181st and 194th degrees of west longitude. The northern island is called by the natives Eahienomauwee, and the southern island, Tovy Poenamoo. The former, though mountainous in some places, is well wooded, and in every valley there is a rivulet. The soil in those valleys is light but fertile, and well adapted for the plentiful production of all fruits, plants, and corn of Europe.

The sea that washes these islands abounds with delicate

and wholesome fish. Wherever the vessel came to anchor, enough were caught with hook and line only to supply the whole ship's company ; and when they fished with nets, every man in the ship salted as much as supplied him for several weeks. There were many sorts of fish here which they had never before seen, and which the sailors named according to their fancies.

About 400 species of plants were found, all of which are unknown in England, except garden nightshade, sow thistle, two or three kinds of ferns, and one or two sorts of grass. They found wild celery and a kind of cress in great abundance on the seashore ; and of eatable plants, raised by cultivation only, cocoas, yams, and sweet potatoes, of which there were large plantations.

There is only one shrub or tree which produces fruit, a kind of almost tasteless berry ; but there grows on the islands a plant which answers all the uses of hemp and flax. There are two kinds of this plant, the leaves of one of which are yellow and the other a deep red, and both resembling the leaves of flags. Of these the natives make lines and cordage much stronger than anything of the kind in Europe. They likewise split these leaves into breadths, and by tying slips together form their fishing-nets. Their common apparel, by a simple process, is also made from them, and their finer, by another preparation, is made from the fibres.

The natives are as large as the finest races of Europe. Their complexions are brown, but little more so than that of a Spaniard, and they are stout and well-shaped. As the dress of both sexes is similar, the voice chiefly distinguishes the women from the men. The latter are active in a high degree ; their hair is black and their teeth white and even. They appear to be of a gentle disposition, and treat each other with the utmost kindness ; but they are perpetually at war, every little district being at enmity with the rest. Notwithstanding the custom of eating their enemies, the circumstances and temper of these people is in favour of those who might wish to become settlers.

These Indians anoint their hair with oil melted from



the fat of fish or birds. The poorer people use that which is rancid, so that they have a very disagreeable smell; but those of superior rank use fresh oil. They have combs made of bone and wood, which are considered as an ornament when stuck upright in the hair. The men tie their hair in a bunch on the crown of the head, and adorn it with the feathers of birds, which they also sometimes place on each side of the temples. The hair of the women is worn either flowing over the shoulders or cut short.

Both sexes, but the men more frequently, mark their bodies with black stains, called amoco. In general the women only stain the lips, but sometimes mark other parts with black patches. The men, on the contrary, put on additional marks from year to year, so that the bodies of those who are very old are almost covered. Exclusive of the amoco, they mark themselves with furrows. These furrows make a hideous appearance, the edges being indented and the whole quite black. The ornaments of the face are drawn in the spiral form, both cheeks being marked exactly alike, while the paintings on their bodies resemble filigree work and the foliage in old chased ornaments; but no two faces or bodies are painted exactly after the same model. The people of New Zealand likewise paint their bodies, by rubbing them with red ochre, either dry or mixed with oil. Their dress is formed of the leaves of the flags, split into slips, which are interwoven and made into a kind of matting, the ends, which are seven or eight inches in length, hanging out on the upper side. One piece of this matting, being tied over the shoulders, reaches to the knees; the other piece, wrapped round the waist, falls almost to the ground. The men wear the lower garment only at particular times.

They have two kinds of cloth besides the coarse matting or shag above mentioned, one of which is as coarse, but beyond all comparison stronger than the English canvas; the other, which is formed of the fibres of the plant, drawn into threads, which cross and bind each other,

resembles the matting on which our dishes are placed at table.

They have a few dresses ornamented with feathers, and one man was seen covered wholly with those of the red parrot.

The women never tie their hair on the top of their heads, nor adorn it with feathers, and are less anxious about dress than the men; their lower garment is bound tight round them, except when they go out fishing, and then they are careful that the men shall not see them.

The ears of both sexes are bored, and the holes stretched so as to admit a man's finger. The ornaments of their ears are feathers, cloth, bones, and sometimes bits of wood; a great many of them made use of the nails given them by the English for this purpose; and the women sometimes adorn their ears with the white down of the albatross. They likewise suspend to their ears chisels, bodkins, the teeth of dogs, and the teeth and nails of their deceased friends. The arms and ankles of the women are adorned with shells and bones, or anything else through which they can pass a string. The men wear slung round the neck, by a string, a piece of green talc or whalebone, with the representation of a man carved on it. One man had the gristle of his nose perforated, and a feather passing through it projected over each cheek.

These people show less ingenuity in the structure of their houses than in anything else belonging to them. They are from 16 to 24 feet long, 10 or 12 wide, and 6 or 8 in height. The frame is of light sticks of wood, and the walls and roof are made of dry grass, firmly knit together. Some of them are lined with the bark of trees, and the ridge of the house is formed by a pole, which runs from one end to the other. The door is only high enough to admit a person crawling on his hands and knees, and the roof is sloping. There is a square hole near the door, serving both for window and chimney, near which is the fireplace. A plank is placed over the door, adorned with a sort of carving, and this they consider as an ornamental piece of furniture. The side walls and roof, projecting 2 or 3 feet beyond the walls at each end, form a sort

of portico, where benches are placed to sit on. The fire is made in the middle of a hollow square on the floor, which is inclosed with wood or stone. They sleep near the walls, their beds consisting of straw laid on the ground. The wealthier, or those having large families, have three or four houses, inclosed in their courtyard. Their clothes, arms, feathers, some ill-made tools, and a chest in which all these are deposited, form all the furniture of the inside of the house. Their hammers to beat fern root, gourds to hold water, and baskets to contain provisions, are placed without the house. One house was found near 40 feet long, 20 wide, and 14 high. Its sides were adorned with carved planks, of workmanship superior to the rest ; but the building appeared to have been left unfinished.

The canoes of this country are long and narrow ; the larger sort seem built for war, and will hold from 30 to 100 men. One of those of Tolaga measured nearly 70 feet in length, 6 in width, and 4 in depth. It was sharp at the bottom, and consisted of three lengths, about 2 or 3 inches thick, and tied firmly together with strong plaiting ; each side was formed of one entire plank, about 12 inches broad, and about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inch thick, which was fitted to the bottom part with equal strength and ingenuity. Several thwarts were laid from one side to the other, to which they were securely fastened, in order to strengthen the canoes. Some few of their canoes at Mercury Bay and Opoorage, were all made entirely of one trunk of a tree, which is made hollow by fire ; but by far the greater part are built after the manner above described. The smaller boats, which are used chiefly in fishing, are adorned at head and stern with the figure of a man, the eyes of which are composed of white shells ; a tongue of enormous size is thrust out of the mouth, and the whole face is a picture of absolute deformity. The grander canoes, which are intended for war, are ornamented with open work, and covered with fringes of black feathers, which give the whole an air of perfect elegance ; the side boards, which are carved in a rude manner, are embellished with tufts of white feathers. These vessels are rowed by paddles,

between 5 and 6 feet in length, the blade of which is a long oval, gradually decreasing till it reaches the handle ; and the velocity with which they row with these paddles is very surprising. Their sails are composed of a kind of mat or netting, which is extended between two upright poles, one of which is fixed on each side ; two ropes, fastened to the top of each pole, serve instead of sheets. The vessels are steered by two men, each having a paddle, and sitting in the stern ; but they can only sail before the wind, in which direction they move with considerable swiftness.

These New Zealanders use axes, adzes, and chisels, with which last they likewise bore holes. The chisels are made of jasper, or of the bone of a man's arm ; their adzes and axes of a hard black stone. They use their small jasper tools till they are blunted, and then throw them away, having no instrument to sharpen them with. The Indians at Tolaga having been presented with a piece of glass, drilled a hole through it, and hung it round the neck. A small bit of jasper was thought to have been the tool they used in drilling it.

Their tillage is excellent. A long narrow stake, sharpened to an edge at bottom, with a piece fixed across at a little distance above it, for the convenience of driving it into the ground with the foot, supplies the place both of plough and spade. The soil being light, their work is not very laborious, and with this instrument alone they will turn up ground of six or seven acres in extent.

The seine or large net, which has already been noticed, is produced by their united labour, and is probably the joint property of the whole town. Their fish-hooks are of shell or bone, and they have baskets of wicker work to hold the fish. Their warlike weapons are spears, darts, battle-axes, and the patoo-patoo. The spear, which is pointed at the end, is about 16 feet in length, and they hold it in the middle, so that it is difficult to parry a thrust with it. Whether they fight in boats or on shore, the battle is hand to hand. They trust chiefly in the patoo-patoo, which is fastened to their wrist by a strong strap, that it may not be wrested out of their hands. These are worn in the girdles of people of superior rank as a mili-

tary ornament. They have a kind of staff of distinction, which is carried by the principal warriors. It is formed of a whale's rib, is quite white, and adorned with carving, feathers, and the hair of their dogs. Sometimes they have a stick 6 feet long, inlaid with shells, and otherwise ornamented like a military staff. This honourable mark of distinction was commonly in the hands of the aged, who were also more daubed with the amoco. When they came to attack the English, one or more of these old men thus distinguished were in each canoe. It was their custom to stop 50 or 60 yards from the ship, when the chief, rising from his seat, put on a dog's skin garment, and holding out his decorated staff, directed them how to proceed. When they were too far from the ship to reach it with their missile weapons, they uttered cries of defiance. Thus they would approach the ship gradually till they were close alongside, still talking at intervals in a peaceable manner, and answering any questions that were asked them. Then again their menaces were repeated, till, encouraged by the supposed timidity of the *Endeavour's* people, they began the war-song and dance, the sure prelude to an attack, which always followed, and sometimes continued till the firing of small shot repulsed them; but at others, they vented their passion by throwing a few stones against the ship by way of insult.

In the war-dance their limbs are distorted and their faces agitated with strange convulsive motions: their tongues hang out of their mouths to an amazing length, and their eyelids are drawn so as to form a circle round the eye. At the same time they shake their darts, brandish their spears, and wave their patoo-patoos to and fro in the air. There is an admirable vigour and activity in their dancing; and in their song they keep time with such exactness, that sixty or a hundred paddles, when struck against the sides of their boats at once, make only a single report. In times of peace they sometimes sing in a manner resembling the war-song, but the dance is omitted. The women, whose voices are exceedingly melodious and soft, sing likewise in a musical but mournful manner. One of their instruments of music

is a shell, from which they produce a sound not unlike that made with a common horn; the other is a small wooden pipe not superior in sound to a child's whistle. They were never heard to sing, or to produce any measured notes like what we call a tune.

As to the horrid custom of eating human flesh, prevalent among them, in most of the caves were found flesh and the bones of men; and some of the heads that were brought on board had false eyes and ornaments in their ears, as if alive. The head purchased by Mr. Banks, and sold with great reluctance, was that of a young person, and by the contusions on one side, appeared to have received many violent blows.

The hippahs, or villages of these people, of which there are several between the Bay of Plenty and Queen Charlotte's Sound, are all fortified. In these they constantly reside; but near Tolaga, Hawk's Bay, and Poverty Bay, only single houses are to be seen, at a considerable distance from each other.

Both sexes eat together. The men cultivate the ground, make nets, catch birds, and go out in their canoes to fish; while the women are employed in weaving cloth, collecting shell-fish, and dressing food.

As to the religion of these people, they acknowledge one Supreme Being, and several subordinate Deities. Their mode of worship could not be learned, nor was any place proper for that purpose seen. There was, indeed, a small square area, encompassed with stones, in the middle of which hung a basket of fern roots on one of their spades. This, they said, was an offering to their gods, to obtain from them a plentiful crop of provisions. They gave the same account of the origin of the world, and the production of mankind, as the inhabitants of Otaheite.

A great similitude was observed between the dress, furniture, boats, and nets of the New Zealanders and the inhabitants of the South Sea Islands, which would seem to denote a common origin. Indeed, the inhabitants of these different places have a tradition, that their ancestors sprang from

another country many years since, and they both agree that this country was called Heawige. Tupia, when he accosted the people here in the language of his own country, was perfectly understood, although the dialect is different.

On Saturday, the 31st of March, 1770, the *Endeavour* sailed from Cape Farewell in New Zealand, having fine weather and a fair wind. They steered westward with a fresh gale till the 2nd of April, when they saw a tropic bird, a sight very unusual in so high a latitude. On the 15th, they saw a gannet; and as this bird never goes far from land, they sounded all night, but had no ground at 130 fathoms. The day following, a small land bird perched on the rigging, but they had no ground at 120 fathoms. On the morning of the 19th, they discovered land, to the southernmost point of which they gave the name of Point Hicks, in compliment to the first lieutenant, who discovered it.

At noon, in lat.  $37^{\circ} 5'$  S. and  $210^{\circ} 29'$  W. long., they saw another remarkable point of land, distant about four leagues. Captain Cook gave it the name of Ram Head Point, from its remarkable resemblance to the promontory of the same name at the entrance of Plymouth Sound. The land appeared to be low and level, the shore white and sandy, and the inland parts covered with wood and verdure. At this time they saw three water-spouts. In the evening, at six o'clock, the northernmost point of land, which they named Cape Howe, was distant about two leagues. On the 27th they saw several of the inhabitants walking along the shore, four of them carrying a canoe on their shoulders; but as they did not attempt to come off to the ship, the captain took Mr. Banks, Dr. Solander, and Tupia in the yawl to that part of the shore where they saw the natives, near which four small canoes lay close inland. The Indians sat on the rocks till the yawl was within a quarter of a mile of the land, when they ran away into the woods. The surf beating violently on the beach, prevented the boat from landing. At five in the evening they returned to the ship, and a light breeze springing up, she sailed to the northward, where they discovered several people on shore. The pinnace having been sent ahead to sound,

arrived near the spot where the Indians had stationed themselves, on which one of them hid himself among the rocks near the landing-place, and the others retreated up the hill. The pinnacle keeping along the shore, the Indians walked nearly in a line with her ; they were armed with long pikes, and a weapon resembling a scimitar, and by various signs and words invited the boat's crew to land. Those who did not follow the boat, having observed the approach of the ship, brandished their weapons, and threw themselves into threatening attitudes.

The *Endeavour* anchored opposite a village of about eight houses, whereupon Captain Cook manned the boats and took Tupia with him, but had no sooner come near the shore, than two men advanced, as if to dispute their setting foot on land. The captain threw them beads, nails, and other trifles, which they picked up with great delight. He then made signals that he wanted water, and used every possible means to convince them that no injury was intended. They now made signs to the boat's crew to land, but no sooner had Captain Cook done so, than the two Indians came again to oppose them. A musket was now fired between them, on the report of which one of them dropped a bundle of lances, which he immediately snatched up again in great haste. One of them threw a stone at the boat, on which the captain ordered a musket loaded with small shot to be fired, which, wounding the eldest of them in the legs, he retired hastily to one of the houses that stood at some distance. The people in the boats now landed, imagining that the wound this man had received would put an end to the contest. In this, however, they were mistaken, for he immediately returned with an oval-shaped kind of shield, painted white in the middle, and with two holes in it to see through. They now advanced with great intrepidity, and both discharged their lances at the boat's crew, but did not wound any of them. Another musket was now fired at them, on which they threw another lance, and then took to their heels. The crew now went up to the huts, in one of which they found the children, who had secreted themselves behind some bark. Having thrown



several pieces of cloth, ribbons, beads, and other things into the hut, they took several of their lances, and then re-embarked in the boat. They now sailed to the north point of the bay, and found plenty of fresh water. Some men having been sent to get wood and water, they no sooner came on board to dinner, than the natives crowded down to the place, and examined the casks with great attention, but did not offer to remove them. When the people were on shore in the afternoon, about twenty of the natives, all armed, advanced within a trifling distance of them, and then stopped, while two of their number approached still nearer. Mr. Hicks, the commanding officer on shore, went towards them, with presents in his hands, and endeavoured by every possible means to assure them of his friendly intention, but to no purpose, for they retired before he came up to them. In the evening, Messrs. Banks and Solander went with the captain to a cove north of the bay, where they caught between three and four hundredweight of fish, at four hauls.

On Tuesday, May the 1st, the south point of the bay was named Sutherland Point, one of the seamen, of the name of Sutherland, who died that day, being buried on shore. More presents were left in the huts, such as looking-glasses, combs, and other articles, but the former ones had not been taken away. Making an excursion about the country, they found it agreeably variegated with wood and lawn, the trees being straight and tall, and without underwood. The second lieutenant, Mr. Gore, who was dredging for oysters, saw some Indians, who made signs for him to come on shore, which he declined ; having finished his business, he sent the boat away, and went by land with a midshipman to join the party who were getting water. On their way they met with more than twenty of the natives, who followed them so close as to come within a few yards of them ; Mr. Gore stopped and faced them, on which the Indians stopped also, and when he proceeded again, they followed him ; but they did not attack him, though each had a lance. The Indians coming in sight of the water-casks, stood at the distance of a quarter of a mile, while Mr. Gore and his companions reached their ship-

mates in safety. Two or three of the waterers now advanced towards the Indians, but observing they did not retire, they here imprudently turned about, and retreated hastily. This apparent mark of cowardice emboldened the savages, who discharged four of their lances at the fugitives, which fell beyond them. They now stopped to pick up the lances ; on which the Indians retired in their turn. At this instant the captain came up, with Messrs. Banks and Solander.

Tupia having learnt to shoot, frequently strayed alone to shoot parrots, and the Indians constantly fled from him with as much precipitation as from the English. The name of Botany Bay was given to this place from the great number of plants collected by Messrs. Banks and Solander.

While the captain remained in the harbour, the English colours were displayed on shore daily, and the name of the ship, with the date of the year, was carved on a tree near the place where they took in water. On Sunday, the 6th of May, they sailed from Botany Bay, and at noon were off a harbour, which was called Port Jackson, and in the evening near a bay to which they gave the name of Broken Bay. The next day, at noon, the northernmost land in sight projected so as to justify the calling it Cape Three Points. As they proceeded northward from Botany Bay the land appeared high and well covered with wood. In the afternoon of the 13th they discovered some rocky islands, and a day later, by the assistance of their glasses, discerned about a score of Indians, each loaded with a bundle.

Early in the morning of the 23rd, Captain Cook, attended by several gentlemen and Tupia, went on shore to examine the country. They landed within the point of a bay, which led into a large lagoon, by the sides of which grew the true mangrove, where they found many nests of ants of a singular kind, as green as grass. When the branches were moved they came forth in great numbers, and bit the disturber most severely. These trees likewise afforded shelter for immense numbers of green caterpillars, whose bodies were covered with hairs.

On Thursday, the 24th, they made sail out of the bay, and

on the day following were abreast of a point, which, being immediately under the tropic, the captain named Cape Capricorn. On the west side of the point they saw an amazing number of large birds, resembling the pelican, some of which were near five feet high.

On Monday, the 28th, they sailed to the northward, and got among another cluster of islands. Here they were greatly alarmed, having on a sudden but three fathoms of water, in a rippling tide; they immediately put the ship about, and hoisted out the boat in search of deeper water; after which they stood to the west under easy sail, and in the evening came to the entrance of a bay. In the afternoon, having sounded round the ship, and found that there was water sufficient to carry her over the shoal, they weighed, and stood to the westward, having sent a boat ahead to sound, and at six in the evening anchored in ten fathoms, with a sandy bottom, at about two miles from the main land.

On Tuesday, the 29th, Captain Cook, intending to lay the ship ashore, and clean her bottom, landed with the master in search of a convenient place for that purpose; in this excursion Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander accompanied them; several places were found suitable for laying ashore, but, to their great disappointment, they could meet with no fresh water. They proceeded, however, up the country, and in the interior parts found gum trees, on the branches of which were white ants' nests, formed of clay, as big as a bushel. On another tree, they saw black ants, which perforated all the twigs, and after eating out the pith, formed their lodgings in the hollows, notwithstanding which the trees were in a flourishing condition. They also saw many thousands of butterflies, which covered every bough in incredible numbers.

On Wednesday, the 30th, Captain Cook and other gentlemen went on shore, and having gained the summit of a hill, took a survey of the coast and the adjacent islands, which being done, the captain proceeded with Dr. Solander up an inlet that had been discovered the preceding day; but the weather proving unfavourable, and from fear of being lost among the shoals in the night, they returned to the ship,

having seen during the whole day only two Indians, who followed the boat a considerable way along the shore. As no water was to be found in their different excursions, the Captain called the inlet where the ship lay, Thirsty Sound.

On the 1st of June they got under weigh, and had now quite opened the western inlet, which they distinguished by the name of Broad Sound. A point of land which forms the north-west entrance they named Cape Palmerston, lying  $21^{\circ} 30'$  S. lat. and  $210^{\circ} 54'$  W. long. Between this cape and Cape Townshend is the bay which they called the Bay of Inlets. At eight in the evening they anchored in 11 fathoms, with a sandy bottom, about two leagues from the mainland.

Saturday, the 2nd, they made sail, and at noon saw a high promontory which they named Cape Hillsborough. It bore W. half N., distant seven miles. The land appeared to abound in wood and herbage, and is diversified with hills, plains, and valleys. A chain of islands large and small are situated at a distance from the coast and under the land, from some of which they saw smoke ascending in different places.

On Sunday, the 3rd, they discovered a point of land, which they called Cape Conway, and between that and Cape Hillsborough a bay, to which they gave the name of Repulse Bay. By the help of their glasses, they discovered two men and a woman on one of the islands, and a canoe with an outrigger like those at Otaheite. They named the islands Cumberland Islands, in honour of the duke; and a passage which they had discovered was called Whit-Sunday Passage, from the day on which it was seen. At daybreak, on Monday, the 4th, they were abreast of a point which they called Cape Gloucester. Names were also given this day to several other places, namely Holbourne Isle, Edgcumbe Bay, and Cape Upstart, which last was so called because it rises abruptly from the low lands that surround it. Inland are some hills or mountains which, like the cape, afford but a barren prospect.

On Tuesday, the 5th, they were about four leagues from land,

and continued to steer W.N.W. as the land lay, till noon on the 6th, when their latitude by observation being  $19^{\circ} 1' S.$ , they had the mouth of a bay all open, distant about two leagues. This they named Cleveland Bay, and the east point Cape Cleveland, now forming part of the colony of Queensland. The west, which had the appearance of an island, was called Magnetical Island, because the compass did not traverse well when they were near it. They are both high, as is the mainland between them, the whole forming a surface the most rugged, rocky, and barren of any they had seen upon the coast. Yet it was not uninhabited, for they saw smoke in several parts of the bottom of the bay.

Thursday, the 7th, at daybreak, they were abreast of the eastern part of this land, and, in the afternoon, saw several columns of smoke, also canoes, and some trees.

On Friday, the 8th, they stood away for the northernmost point in sight, to which they gave the name of Point Hillock. Between this and Magnetical Isle the shore forms Halifax Bay, which affords shelter from all winds. At six in the evening they were abreast of a point of land which they named Cape Sandwich. From hence the land trends west, and afterwards north, forming a fine large bay, which was named Rockingham Bay. They now ranged northward along the shore, towards a cluster of islands, on one of which about forty or fifty men, women, and children were standing together, all stark naked, and looking at the ship with a curiosity never observed among these people before. At noon their latitude, by observation, was  $17^{\circ} 59' S.$ , and they were abreast of the north point of Rockingham Bay, which bore from them west, distant about two miles. This boundary of the bay is formed by an island of considerable height, which they distinguished by the name of Dunk Island.

On Saturday, the 9th, in the morning, they were abreast of some small islands, which were named Frankland's Isles. At noon they were in the middle of the channel. The point on the main, of which they were now abreast, Captain Cook named Cape Grafton. Having hauled round this, they found a bay three miles to the westward, in which they anchored.

and called the island Green Island. Here Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander went ashore with the captain, with a view of procuring water, which not being easily had, they soon returned on board, and the next day arrived near Trinity Bay, so called because it was discovered on Trinity Sunday.

Sunday, the 10th, was remarkable for the dangerous situation of the *Endeavour*.

As no remarkable accident had befallen our adventurers, during a navigation of more than thirteen hundred miles, upon a coast everywhere abounding with the most dangerous rocks and shoals, no name expressive of distress had hitherto been given to any cape or point of land which they had seen. But they now gave the name of Cape Tribulation to a point they had just discovered, because here they became acquainted with misfortune. The cape lies in latitude  $16^{\circ} 6' S.$  and  $214^{\circ} 39' W.$  longitude.

On Sunday, the 10th, at six in the evening, they shortened sail, and hauled off shore close upon a wind, to avoid the danger of some rocks which were seen ahead. They kept standing off till near nine, with a fine breeze and bright moon, and had got into twenty-one fathoms of water, when suddenly they fell into twelve, ten, and eight fathoms, in a few minutes. Every man was instantly ordered to his station, and they were on the point of anchoring, when, on a sudden, they had again deep water, so that they thought all danger was at an end, concluding they had sailed over the tail of some shoals, which they had seen in the evening. In less than an hour, however, the water shallowed at once from twenty to seventeen fathoms, and before soundings could be taken, the ship struck upon a rock, and remained immovable. Every one was instantly on deck, with countenances fully expressive of the horrors of their situation. Knowing they were not near the shore, they concluded they had struck upon a rock of coral, the points of which are sharp, and the surface so rough as to grind away whatever is rubbed against it, even with the most gentle motion; all the sails being immediately taken in and the boats hoisted out, they found that the ship had been carried over a ledge of the

rock, and lay in a hollow within it. Finding the water deepest astern, they carried out the anchor from the star-board quarter, and applied their whole force to the capstan, in hopes of getting the vessel off, but in vain. She beat so violently against the rock, that the crew could scarcely keep their legs. By the bright light of the moon, they could see the sheathing-boards float from the bottom of the vessel, till at length the false keel followed, so that they expected instant destruction. As their only chance of escape seemed to be lightening the ship, they started the water in the hold, and pumped it up.

The decayed stores, oil-jars, casks, ballast, six of their guns, and other articles were thrown overboard, in order to get at the heavier stores; and in this business they were employed till daybreak, during all which time not an oath was sworn, so much were the minds of the sailors impressed with a sense of their danger.

At daylight they saw land eight leagues distant, but not a single island between them and the main, on which part of the crew might have landed, while the boats went on shore with the rest, so that the destruction of the greater part would have been inevitable had the ship gone to pieces. It happened, however, that the wind died away to a dead calm before noon. As they expected high water about eleven o'clock, everything was prepared to make another effort to free the ship, but the tide fell so short, that she did not float by 18 inches, though they had thrown overboard nearly fifty tons weight; they therefore continued throwing overboard everything that could possibly be spared. As the tide fell, the water poured in so rapidly that they could scarcely keep her free by the constant working of two pumps. Their only hope now depended on the midnight tide, and preparations were accordingly made for another effort to get the ship off. The tide began to rise at five o'clock, when the leak likewise increased to such a degree, that two pumps more were manned, but only one of them would work; three, therefore, were kept going till nine o'clock, at which time the ship righted; but so much water had been admitted by the leak,

that they expected she would sink as soon as the tide bore her off the rock.

Their situation was now deplorable beyond description, almost all hope being lost. They knew that when the fatal moment arrived, all authority would be at an end. The boats were incapable of conveying all on shore, and they dreaded a contest for the preference as more shocking than the shipwreck itself. Yet it was considered that those who were left on board would eventually meet with a milder fate than those who, by gaining the shore, would have no chance but to linger out the remains of life among the rudest savages in the universe, and in a country where fire-arms would barely enable them to support a wretched existence. At twenty minutes past ten the ship floated, when they were happy to find that she did not admit more water than she had done before. Yet, as the leak had for a considerable time gained on the pumps, there was now 3 feet 9 inches of water in the hold. By this time the men were so wearied by fatigue of body and anxiety of mind, that none of them could pump more than five or six minutes at a time, when they would throw themselves, quite spent, on the deck. The succeeding man being fatigued in his turn, threw himself down in the same manner, while the former jumped up and renewed his labour, thus mutually struggling for life, til the following accident almost gave them up a prey to absolute despair.

Between the inside lining of the ship's bottom and the outside planking, there is a space of about seventeen or eighteen inches. The man who had hitherto taken the depth of water at the well, had taken it no farther than the ceiling, but being now relieved by another, who took the depth of the outside planks, it appeared, by this mistake, that the leak had suddenly gained upon the pumps the whole difference between the two planks. This circumstance deprived them of all hope, and few thought it worth while to labour for the longer preservation of a life which must soon be terminated. The mistake, however, was soon discovered ; and the joy arising from such unexpected good news inspired the men with so much vigour, that before eight o'clock in the morning they



had pumped out considerably more water than they had shipped. They now talked of nothing but getting the ship into some harbour, and set heartily to work to secure their anchors, one of which, and the cable of another, they had lost. Having a good sea breeze, they set sail at eleven o'clock, and steered for land. As they could not discover the exact situation of the leak, they had no prospect of stopping it from within the vessel, but the following expedient, which one of the midshipmen had formerly seen tried with success, was adopted. They took an old studding-sail, and having mixed a large quantity of oakum and wool, chopped small, it was stitched down in handfuls on the sail, as lightly as possible, the dung of their sheep and other filth being spread over it. Thus prepared, the sail was hauled under the ship by ropes, which kept it extended till it came under the leak, when the suction carried in the oakum and wool from the surface of the sail. This experiment succeeded so well that, instead of three pumps, the water was easily kept under with one.

They had hitherto intended to run the ship into some harbour, and build a vessel from her materials, in which they might reach the East Indies ; but they now began to think of finding a proper place to repair her damages, and then to pursue the voyage on its original plan. At six in the evening they anchored seven leagues from the shore. Next morning they passed two small islands, which they called Hope Islands, because to reach them had been the object of their wishes at the time of the disaster. In the afternoon the master was sent out with two boats to sound and search for a harbour where the ship might be repaired, and they anchored at sunset, in four fathoms of water, two miles from the shore. One of the mates being sent out in the pinnace, returned at nine o'clock, reporting that he had found a suitable harbour, two leagues distant.

They sailed early on Wednesday, the 13th, and soon anchored about a mile from the shore, when the captain took soundings in a boat and found the channel very narrow, but the harbour was better adapted to their present purpose

than any place they had seen in the whole course of their voyage. As it blew very fresh this day and the following night they could not venture to run into the harbour, but remained at anchor during the two succeeding days.

The men, by this time, began to be afflicted with scurvy, and Tupia was so ill with it, that he had livid spots on both his legs; Mr. Green, the astronomer, also suffered from the same disorder. The wind continuing fresh till the 17th they resolved to push in for the harbour, and twice ran the ship aground; the second time she stuck fast, on which they took down the booms, foreyard, and foretop-mast, and made a raft on the side of the ship; and, as the tide happened to be rising, she floated at one o'clock. They soon got her into the harbour, where she was moored close to the beach, and the anchors and cables immediately taken out of her.

On Monday, the 18th, they erected a tent for the sick, who were brought on shore as soon as it was ready for their reception. They likewise set up another tent to hold the provisions and stores, which were landed the same day. The boat was now dispatched in search of fish for the sick, but she returned without having procured any. Tupia, however, employed himself in angling, and living entirely upon what he caught, recovered his health very fast. In an excursion Mr. Banks made up the country, he saw the frames of several huts, and Captain Cook having ascended one of the highest hills, observed the land to be stony and barren, and the low land, near the river, overrun with mangroves, among which the salt water flowed every tide.

Tuesday, the 19th, the smith's forge was set up, and the armourer prepared the necessary iron-work for the repairs. On the 22nd they warped the ship higher up the harbour, in order to stop the leak. Early in the morning, the tide having left her, they proceeded to examine the leak, when it appeared that the rocks had cut through four planks into the timbers, and that three other planks were damaged. In these breaches not a splinter was to be seen, the whole being smooth, as if cut away by an instrument; but most providentially the vessel was preserved by a very singular circum-

stance. Though one of the holes was large enough to have sunk her, even with eight pumps constantly at work, yet it was partly stopped up by a fragment of the rock, which remained sticking in it. They likewise found that some oakum, wool, &c., had got between the timbers and stopped those parts of the leak that the stone had left open. Exclusive of the leak, great damage was done to various parts of the ship's bottom.

While the smiths were employed in making nails and bolts, the carpenters began to work on the vessel; and some of the people were sent on the other side of the river to shoot pigeons for the sick. They found a stream of fresh water, discovered many Indian houses, and saw a mouse-coloured animal, very swift, and about the size of a greyhound. On the 23rd, a boat was dispatched to haul the seine, and returned at noon with only three fish, although they saw plenty leaping about the harbour. This day many of the crew saw the animal above mentioned, which was afterwards discovered to be a huge black bat about the size of a partridge.

The repairs of the ship on the starboard side having been finished, the carpenters now began to work under her port bow, and on examination abaft, it appeared she had received very little injury in that quarter. Mr. Banks having removed his whole collection of plants into the bread-room, they were this day under water, by which some of them were totally destroyed; however, by great care, most of them were restored to a state of preservation. A plant was found on the 25th, the leaves of which were almost as good as spinach; also a fruit of a deep purple colour, and the size of a golden pippin, which, after having been kept a few days, tasted like a damson.

On Tuesday, the 26th, the carpenter was engaged in caulking the ship, and the men in other necessary business; and on the 27th the armourer continued to work at the forge and the carpenter on the ship; while the captain made several hauls with the large net, but caught only between twenty and thirty fish, which were distributed among the sick and the convalescent. Here they saw a tree notched

for climbing ; also nests of white ants, from a few inches to five feet in height, prints of men's feet, and the tracks of three or four animals were likewise discovered.

One of the midshipmen saw a wolf, resembling exactly the same species in America.

On the 29th of June, and again on the following day, they had such a good haul of fish, that two pounds and a half were distributed to each man, and plenty of greens were gathered, which, when boiled with peas, made an excellent mess, and they all thought this day's fare an unspeakable refreshment.

On the 1st of July all the crew had permission to go on shore, except one from each mess, part of whom were again sent to haul the seine, and were equally successful.

On the 3rd the master, who had been sent out in the pinnace, returned, and reported that he had found a passage out to sea, between shoals consisting of coral rocks, many of which were dry at low water. He found some cockles so large that one of them was more than sufficient for two men ; likewise plenty of other shell-fish, of which he brought a supply to the ship. This day they made another attempt to float the *Endeavour*, and happily succeeded at high water, when they found that, from the position she had lain in, one of her planks was sprung, so that it was again necessary to lay her ashore.

On the 5th she was again floated, and moored off the beach in order to receive the stores on board. This day they crossed the harbour, and found on a sandy beach a great number of fruits, not discovered before ; among others, a cocoa-nut, which Tupia said had been opened by a crab, and was judged to be what the Dutch call Beurs Krabbe. Mr. Banks sailed up the river with a party on the 6th, and returned on the 8th ; they found its course contracted into a narrow channel, bounded by steep banks, adorned with trees of a most beautiful appearance, among which was the bark-tree. The land was low and covered with grass, and seemed capable of being cultivated to great advantage. While in pursuit of game, they saw four animals, two of which were chased by

Mr. Banks' greyhound, but they greatly outstripped him in speed, by leaping over the long thick grass, which incommoded the dog in running ; it was observed that these animals bounded forward on two legs instead of running on four. On their return to the boat, they proceeded up the river till it contracted to a brook of fresh water, in which the tide rose considerably. When preparing to halt for the night they saw smoke at a distance, on which three of them approached the spot, but the Indians were gone. They saw the impressions of feet on the sand, below high-water mark, and found a fire still burning in the hollow of an old tree. At a small distance were several huts, and they observed ovens dug in the ground, and also the remains of a recent meal. They slept that night on plantain leaves, with a bunch of grass for their pillows, and the tide favouring their return in the morning, lost no time in getting back to the ship. The master, who had been seven leagues at sea, returned soon after Mr. Banks, bringing with him three turtles, which he took with a boat-hook, and which together weighed nearly 800 pounds.

In the morning four Indians, in a small canoe, were within sight. The captain now determined to take no notice of these people, as the most likely way to be noticed by them. This project answered ; two of them came within musket-shot of the vessel, and after some conversation carried on at a distance, the Indians gradually approached, with their lances held up, not in a menacing manner, but as if they meant to intimate that they were capable of defending themselves. They came almost alongside, when the captain threw them cloth, nails, paper, &c., which did not seem to attract their notice ; at length one of the sailors threw a small fish, which so pleased them that they hinted their design of bringing their companions, and immediately rowed for the shore. In the interim, Tupia and some of the crew landed on the opposite shore. The Indians soon came alongside the ship, and having received presents, landed where Tupia and a few sailors went on shore. They had each two lances, and a stick with which they throw them. Advancing towards the English, Tupia persuaded them to lay down their

arms, and sit by him, which they readily did. Others of the crew now going on shore, the Indians seemed jealous, lest they should get between them and their arms, but care was taken to convince them that no such thing was intended, and more trifles were presented to them. The crew stayed with them till dinner time, and then made signs of invitation for them to go to the ship and eat ; but this they declined, and retired in their canoe.

These men were of common stature, with very small limbs. Their complexion was of a deep chocolate colour, their hair black, either lank or curled, but not of the woolly kind ; and some part of their bodies had been painted red. Their teeth were white and even, their eyes bright, and their features pleasing ; their voices were musical, and they repeated several English words with great readiness.

The next morning the visit of three of these Indians was renewed, and they brought with them a fourth, whom they called Yaparico, who appeared to be a person of some consequence. The bone of a bird, about six inches long, was thrust through the gristle of his nose ; and, indeed, all the inhabitants of this place had their noses bored, for the reception of such ornaments. These people being quite naked, the captain gave one of them an old shirt, which he bound round his head like a turban, instead of using it to cover any part of his body. They brought a fish to the ship, which was supposed to be in payment for that given them the day before ; after staying some time with apparent satisfaction, they suddenly leaped into their canoes and rowed off, from a jealousy of some of the gentlemen who were examining it.

On the 12th of July three Indians visited Tupia's tent, and after remaining some time, went for two others, whom they introduced by name. Some fish were offered them, but after eating a little, they gave the remainder to Mr. Banks' dog. Both the strangers had bones through their noses, and a piece of bark tied over their foreheads ; and one of them had an ornament of strings round his arm, and an elegant necklace made of shells. Their canoe was about ten feet long, and calculated to hold four persons, and when it was in

shallow water, they moved it by the help of poles. Their lances had only a single point, and some of them were barbed with fish bones.

On the 14th Mr. Gore shot one of the mouse-coloured animals above mentioned. It chanced to be a young one, weighing more than thirty-eight pounds, but when they are full grown, they are as large as a sheep. The skin of this beast, which is called kangaroo, is covered with short fur and is of a dark mouse colour ; the head and ears are somewhat like those of a hare. This animal was dressed for dinner, and proved excellent eating. The ship's crew fed on turtle almost every day, which were finer and better than those eaten in England, owing to their being killed before their natural fat was wasted and their juices changed.

On the 17th Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander went with the captain into the woods, and saw four Indians in a canoe, who went on shore, and walked up without sign of fear. They accepted some beads and departed, intimating that they did not choose to be followed. The natives having now become familiar with the ship's crew, one of them was desired to throw his lance, which he did with such force and dexterity, that though it was not above four feet from the ground, at the highest, it penetrated deeply into a tree at a distance of fifty yards. The natives now came on board the ship, and seemed well pleased with their entertainment. The women as well as the men were quite naked.

On the 19th they were visited by ten Indians, who seemed resolved to have one of the turtles that was on board, which they repeatedly made signs for, and expressed the utmost rage and resentment on its being refused them ; one of them in particular, having received a denial from Mr. Banks, stamped and pushed him away in a most violent manner. At length they laid hands on two of the turtles, and dragged them to the side of the ship where the canoe lay, but the sailors took them away. They made several similar attempts, but being equally unsuccessful, leaped suddenly into their canoe, and rowed off. At this instant the captain, with Mr. Banks and five or six of the seamen, went on shore, where

many of the crew were already employed. On the arrival of the Indians soon after, one of them snatched a firebrand from under a pitch kettle, and running to windward of what articles were left on shore, set fire to the dry grass, which burned rapidly, scorched a pig to death, burned part of the smith's forge, and would have destroyed a tent of Mr. Banks, but that some people came from the ship just in time to get it out of the way of the flames. In the meanwhile, the Indians went to a place where the fishing-nets lay, and a quantity of linen was laid out to dry, and there again set fire to the grass in spite of all persuasion and even threats. A musket loaded with small shot was fired, and one of them being wounded, they ran away; this second fire was extinguished, but the other burned far into the woods.

The Indians still continuing in sight, a musket charged with ball was fired at them, the report of which sent them out of sight; but their voices being heard in the woods the captain, with a few people, went to meet them. Both parties stopped when in sight of each other; an old Indian then advanced before the rest a little way, but soon halted, and having spoken some words which the English could not understand, he retreated to his companions, and they all retired slowly in a body. Having seized some of their darts, the ship's crew continued to follow them about a mile, and then sat down upon the rocks, the Indians sitting also, about a hundred yards from them. The old man again came forward, having a lance without a point in his hand; he stopped several times at different distances and spoke, whereupon the captain made signs of friendship, which they answered. The old man now turned and spoke to his companions, who placed their lances against a tree, and advanced in a friendly manner. The darts were then returned to them, and this rendered the reconciliation complete. Having received some trinkets, the Indians walked amicably toward the coast, intimating by signs that they would not fire the grass again. When they came opposite the ship they sat down, but could not be prevailed upon to go on board. They accepted a few musket-balls, the use and



effects of which the captain endeavoured to explain. When the party arrived at the ship, they saw the woods burning at the distance of two miles.

On Friday, the 20th, the ship being ready for sea, the master was sent in search of a passage to the northward, but could not find any; while the captain sounded and buoyed the bar. On the 22nd they killed a turtle, through the shoulders of which stuck an harpoon, nearly fifteen inches long, bearded at the end, and about the thickness of a man's finger, resembling such as they had seen among the natives. The turtle appeared to have been struck a considerable time, as the wound was perfectly healed. On the 24th, one of the sailors having strayed from his company, fell in with four Indians at dinner. He was at first much alarmed, but had the prudence to conceal his apprehensions; and sitting down beside them gave them his knife, which having examined they returned. He would then have taken his leave, but they seemed disposed to detain him, till, by feeling his hands and face, they were convinced that he was made of flesh and blood like themselves. They treated him with great civility, and having kept him about half an hour, showed him the nearest way to the ship.

On Saturday, the 4th of August, at seven o'clock in the morning, they once more got under weigh and put to sea. They stood E. by N., with the pinnace ahead to keep sounding. About noon they came to an anchor, and the captain named the northernmost point of land in sight Cape Bedford, and the harbour they had quitted Endeavour River, it being only a small bar harbour, or creek, which runs in a winding channel three or four leagues inland. The provisions they procured in this harbour consisted of turtle, oysters of different sorts, flat fish, skate or ray fish, wild beans, and cabbage-palms. Of quadrupeds, there are goats, wolves, polecats, and several sorts of serpents, some of which are venomous. Dogs are the only tame animals. The feathered tribe are represented by kites, crows, hawks, cockatoos, parrots, pigeons, and small birds of various sorts; the water fowls are wild geese, curlew, whistling ducks, and some few others. The

soil of the hills, though stony, produces coarse grass, beside wood ; that of the valleys is in general well clothed, and has the appearance of fertility. The trees are of various sorts, of which the gum-trees are the most common. On each side of the river are mangroves, which in some parts extend a mile within the coast ; the country is well watered, and ant hills are everywhere abundant.

On Saturday, the 4th, Captain Cook went up to the mast-head to look at some dangerous shoals, several of which he saw above the water. During the six following days they attempted to sail between the shoals and breakers, by which they were surrounded. On the 10th they were between a headland and three islands, which had been discovered the preceding day. They now entertained hopes of being out of danger, but this not proving to be the case, they called the headland Cape Flattery. Some land was now discovered and was generally taken for the main, though the captain thought it was a cluster of islands. Owing to this diversity of opinion, it was resolved to bring the ship to an anchor. This done, the captain landed, and from a high point took a survey of the sea coast, by which he was confirmed in his conjecture. On the point where he stood were seen the prints of human feet, in white sand of an exquisite fineness ; and the place was named Point Look-out. To the northward of this, the coast appeared to be shoal and flat for a considerable distance.

On Saturday, the 11th, early in the morning, Mr. Banks and Captain Cook went to visit the largest of the three islands, and having gained the summit of the highest hill, beheld a reef of rocks, on which the sea broke heavily, but the hazy weather prevented a perfect view : they lodged under a bush during the night, and next day seeing what had the appearance of a channel between the reefs, one of the mates was sent out in the pinnace to examine it. He returned at noon, having found between 15 and 28 fathoms of water ; but it blew so hard that the mate did not think it prudent to venture into one of the channels, which he said appeared to be narrow. While busy in this survey, Mr. Banks was attentive to his favourite pursuit, and collected many plants

he had not before seen. This island, visible at twelve leagues' distance, and in general barren, they found to be about eight leagues in circumference. There are some sandy bays and low land on the north-west side, which is covered with long grass and trees of the same kind with those on the main; lizards of a very large size also abounded, some of which they took. They found also fresh water in two places; one running stream close to the sea was rather brackish, the other was a standing pool, perfectly sweet. They were surprised to see, from the remains of some huts which they found, that notwithstanding the great distance of this island from the main land, it was sometimes visited by the Indians. On their return to the ship, the captain named this place Lizard Island, on account of their having seen no other animals but lizards. When returning, they landed on a low sandy island, upon which were birds of various kinds. They took a nest of young eagles, and therefore called the place Eagle Island. They found also the nest of some other bird of a most enormous size; it was made of sticks, upon the ground, and was not less than 26 feet in circumference, and 2 feet 8 inches high. They perceived that this place had also been visited by the Indians. During their absence from the ship, the master had landed on several low islands, where he had seen great heaps of turtle shells, and found their fins, which the Indians had left hanging on the trees, so fresh, that they were dressed and eaten by the boat's crew.

On Sunday, the 12th, the officers being unanimously of opinion that it would be advisable to leave the coast altogether, the *Endeavour* sailed on the following day, and got through one of the channels in the reef, happy at finding themselves once more in the open sea, having been surrounded by shoals and rocks for three months. "They had now sailed above 1,000 miles, without," says Captain Cook, "ever having a man out of the chains heaving the lead, when the ship was under sail." The passage through which they passed into the open sea beyond the reef, is in latitude 14° 32' S., and may always be known by the three high islands within it, which Captain Cook called the Islands of

Direction, because by these a stranger may find a safe channel through the reef to the mainland.

On the 15th they steered a westerly course, in order to get sight of land, that they might not pass the passage between this country and New Guinea, if there were one. Early in the afternoon they sighted land, which had the appearance of hilly islands, and saw breakers between the vessel and the land, in which there was an opening; to get clear, they set all sail, and stood to the northward till midnight, and then went on a southerly tack for about two miles, when the breeze died away to a dead calm. At daylight they saw a fearful surf breaking at a vast height, within a mile of the ship, towards which the rolling waves carried her with great rapidity. The boats were sent ahead to tow, and the head of the vessel was brought round, but not till she was within a hundred yards of the rock, over which the surf broke in great billows. Just as they were in expectation of instant destruction, a breeze, hardly discernible, aided the boats in getting the vessel clear of the rock. The hopes, however, afforded by this providential circumstance, were destroyed by a perfect calm, which succeeded in a few minutes. Yet the breeze once more returned, before they had lost the little ground which had been gained. At this time a small opening was seen in the reef, and a young officer being sent to examine it, found that its breadth did not much exceed the length of the ship, but that there was smooth water on the other side of the rocks. They now attempted to pass the opening, but this was impossible, for it having become high water in the interim, the ebb tide rushed through it with amazing impetuosity, carrying the ship about a quarter of a mile from the reef, which soon increased to nearly two miles, by the help of the boats. When the ebb tide was spent, the flood again drove the vessel very near the rocks, so that the prospect of destruction was renewed; but they discovered another opening, and a light breeze springing up, were driven through it with a rapidity that prevented the ship from striking against either side of the channel. She now came to an anchor, and the crew were grateful for having regained

a station which they had been lately most anxious to quit. The name of Providence Channel was given to the opening, through which the ship had thus escaped the most imminent dangers. A high promontory on the main land in sight was denominated Cape Weymouth, and a bay near it Weymouth Bay. This day the boats went out fishing, and met with success, particularly in catching cockles, some of which were of such an amazing size as to require two men to move them. Mr. Banks likewise succeeded in his search for rare shells and different kinds of coral.

On the 18th they discovered several small islands, which were called Forbes' Islands, and sighted a high point of land on the main, which was named the Bolt Head. On the 19th they discovered several other small islands, which were low, barren, and sandy. A point was seen and called Cape Grenville, and a bay to which was given the name of Temple Bay. In the afternoon many other islands were seen, which were denominated Bird Isles, from their being frequented by numerous flocks of birds. On the 20th they sighted many more small islands, in one of which were a few trees and several Indian huts. On the 21st they sailed through a channel, in which was a number of shoals, and they gave the name of York Cape to a point of the main land which forms the side of the channel. A large bay is formed to the south of the cape, which was called Newcastle Bay, and in which are several little islands; on the north side of the cape the land is rather mountainous, but the low parts of the country abound with trees. The islands discovered in the morning of this day were called York Isles. Afterwards they anchored between some islands, and observed that the channel began to grow wider; they also perceived two distant points, between which no land could be seen, so that the hope of having at length explored a passage into the Indian Sea began to animate every breast; but, to bring the matter to a certainty, the captain, accompanied by Messrs. Solander and Banks, landed with a party on an island on which they had seen a number of Indians. Three of these Indians stood on shore as if to oppose the landing of the boat, but they retired before

it reached the beach. The captain and his company now ascended a hill, from whence they had a view of nearly forty miles, in which space there was nothing that threatened to oppose their passage, so that the certainty of a channel seemed to be almost indubitable. Previous to their leaving the island, Captain Cook displayed the English colours, and in the name of King George took possession of all the eastern coast of the country, from the 38th deg. of S. latitude to the present spot, by the name of New South Wales ; and three volleys of small arms being fired, and answered by an equal number from the *Endeavour*, the place received the name of Possession Island. Weighing anchor they gave the name of Cape Cornwall to the extreme point of the largest island on the north-west side of the passage, and some low islands near the middle of the channel received the name of Wallis' Isles ; soon after which the ship came to an anchor, and the long-boat was sent out to sound. Towards evening they sailed again, and the captain landed with Mr. Banks on a small island which was frequented by immense numbers of birds, the majority of which being boobies, the place received the name of Booby Island. They were now advanced to the northern extremity of New Holland, and had the satisfaction of viewing the open sea to the westward. The N.E. entrance to the passage is formed by the mainland of New Holland, and by a number of islands, which took the name of the Prince of Wales' Islands, and which Captain Cook imagined may reach to New Guinea. This passage he called Endeavour Straits.

None of the villages in New South Wales consisted of more huts than would afford shelter for fourteen or fifteen men, and these were the largest numbers that were assembled at one spot exclusive of women. The men are well made, of the middle size, and active in a high degree, but their voices are soft, even to effeminacy. Their colour is chocolate ; but they were so covered with dirt as to look almost as black as negroes. Their hair is naturally long and black, but they generally cropped it short ; in some few instances it was slightly curled, and was always

matted with dirt ; their beards are thick and bushy, but kept short by singeing. The women were seen only at a distance, as the men constantly left them behind when they crossed the river. The chief ornament of these people is the bone that is thrust through the nose, which the sailors whimsically called the "spritsail-yard ;" but besides this they wore necklaces formed of shells, a small cord tied twice or thrice round the arm, between the elbow and the shoulder, and a string of plaited human hair round the waist. Some few of them had an ornament of shells hanging across the breast. Besides these ornaments, they painted their bodies white and red, in stripes of different dimensions, and they had a circle of white round each eye, and spots of it on the face. Their ears were bored, but they did not wear ear-rings. They accepted whatever was given them, but seemed to have no idea of making an adequate return ; and they would not part with their ornaments for anything that was offered in exchange. Their bodies were marked with scars, which they signified were in remembrance of the deceased. Their huts were built with small rods, the two ends of which were fixed in the ground, so as to form the figure of an oven ; and the rods were covered with pieces of bark and palm-leaves. The door of this building, which was only high enough to sit upright in, was opposite the fireplace. They sleep with their heels turned up towards their heads, and even in this posture the hut will not hold more than four people. In the northern parts, where the weather is warmer, the lee side of the houses was left open. As these huts were only built for temporary use, they were left behind, when their inmates removed to other parts of the country. The huts were furnished with a kind of bucket for filtering water, made of an oblong piece of bark tied up at each end with a twig of a tree ; and this was the only furniture. On their backs they have a kind of bag of the size and form of a cabbage net, in which they carry their fish-hooks and lines, and the shells of which they make these hooks ; also their ornaments, consisting of some points of darts, and two or three bits of paint, which constitute all their riches. They feed on the kangaroo and several kinds of birds ; also yams,

and various kinds of fruit, but the principal article of their subsistence is fish. They were frequently observed chewing the leaves of a tree. Their method of producing fire, and extending the flames, is very singular. Having wrought one end of a stick to an obtuse point, they place this point upon a piece of dry wood, and turning the upright stick very fast backward and forward between their hands, fire is soon produced, nor is it increased with less celerity. One of the natives was frequently observed to run along the sea coast, leaving fire in different places. The method taken to do this was as follows : before he set off he wrapped up a little spark of fire in dry grass, and the quickness of his motion soon fanning it into a flame, he then placed it on the ground, and putting a spark of it in another bit of grass, ran on again, and increased the number of fires at pleasure. These fires were supposed to be intended for the taking of the kangaroo, as that animal was so very shy of fire, that when pursued by the dogs, it would not pass places which had been newly burnt, even when the fire was extinguished.

The natives of New South Wales make use of spears or lances, but these are very differently constructed ; those that were seen in the southern parts of the country had four prongs, pointed with bone, and barbed, and the points were rubbed with a kind of wax, the smoothness of which made an easier passage into what was struck by them. The lances in the northern parts have only one point ; the shafts, which are from 8 to 14 feet in length, are made of the stalk of a plant not unlike a bulrush, and consist of several joints let into each other, and tied together. The points of these lances are sometimes made of fish bones, and sometimes of hard heavy wood. They are barbed with other pieces of wood or stone, so that when they have entered any depth into the body, they cannot be drawn out without tearing the flesh in a shocking manner, or leaving splinters behind them. When the natives intend to wound at a considerable distance, they discharge this instrument with a throwing stick ; but if the object be near them, it is thrown from the hand only. The throwing stick is a piece of smooth, hard red wood, half



an inch thick, two inches broad, and about three feet in length, having a cross piece near four inches long at one end, and a small knob at the other. A small hollow is made in the shaft of the lance, near the point, and in this hollow the knob is received, but on being forced forward it will easily slip from it. The lance being placed on this throwing-stick, the Indian holds it over his shoulder, shakes it, and then throws both lance and stick with his utmost power ; but as the cross-piece strikes the shoulder, the sudden jerk stops the stick, while the lance is driven forward with amazing rapidity, and is generally so well aimed, that a mark at the distance of fifty yards is more surely struck with it than by a bullet from a gun.

These people make use of shields made of the bark of trees, of about eighteen inches broad, and three feet long. Many trees were seen from whence the bark had been taken, and others on which the shields were cut out, but not taken away. In the northern parts of this country the canoes are formed by hollowing the trunk of a tree, and it was conjectured that this operation must have been performed by fire, as the natives did not appear to have any instrument proper for the purpose. The canoes are about 14 feet in length, and so narrow that they would be frequently upset, but that they are provided with an out-rigger. The natives row them with paddles, using both hands. The canoes in the southern parts are formed of a piece of bark four yards long, fastened together at each end, and kept open by a piece of wood passing from side to side. In deep water, these canoes, which are constructed to hold only four people, are rowed by paddles of about a foot and a half in length, the rower having one in each hand ; but in shallow water they are pushed forward by means of a long stick. The natives have for tools only a wooden mallet, a kind of wedge, and an adze made of stone, with some pieces of coral and shells, which may possibly be applied to the purposes of cutting. They polish the points of their lances and their throwing-sticks with the leaves of a tree which are like the wild fig, and bite with a sharpness almost equal to that of a rasp.

On Friday, the 24th of August, 1770, the *Endeavour* got under sail, steering north-west, and in a few hours one of the boats ahead made the signal for shoal water. They instantly brought the ship to, with all her sails standing, and a survey being taken of the sea around her, it was found that she was almost encompassed with shoals, and must have struck if she had been half a cable's length on either side. In the afternoon they made sail with the ebb tide, and got out of danger before sunset.

On the 27th they pursued their voyage, shortening sail at night, and tacking till daybreak of the 28th, when they steered due north, in search of New Guinea. Land having been sighted this day from the mast-head, they stood off and on all night, and at daybreak sailed towards it with a brisk gale.

On Thursday, the 30th, they held a northerly course, the land being just visible. Captain Cook now determined to land in one of the boats, while the ship kept plying off and on. On the 3rd of September, accompanied by Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander, he set off from the ship in the pinnace, the party consisting in all of twelve persons, well armed. They rowed directly to the shore, but on arriving within 200 yards of it found the water so shallow that they were obliged to leave the boat in the care of two of the sailors, and wade to land. They saw several prints of human feet on the sand, below high-water mark, from whence it was evident that the natives had been there. Having now advanced about a quarter of a mile from the boat, three Indians rushed from the wood with a hideous shout, and as they ran towards the English the foremost threw something out of his hand, which flew on one side of him, and burnt like gunpowder, but made no report; the other two threw their lances. The crew then discharged their pieces, loaded with small shot only, upon which the Indians cast a third dart. The crew now loaded with ball, and fired a second time, and it is probable some of them were wounded, as they all took to their heels with great agility. Captain Cook now returned to the boat, and on the way perceived signals on board that more natives

were coming in a body ; soon after he perceived several Indians coming round a point, five hundred yards distant. When they saw the crew they halted, until the crew entered the water and waded to the boat.

These Indians much resembled the New Hollanders, being nearly of the same stature, with their hair cropped short. Their lances were made of a reed or bamboo cane, the points of which were of hard wood, and barbed in many places. They were light and about four feet in length. Such was the force with which they were discharged, that they went beyond the English, though they were at sixty yards' distance, but in what manner they were propelled there was no means of determining. This day, Monday, Sept. 3rd, Captain Cook made sail to the westward, being resolved to spend no more time upon this coast.

On Saturday, the 8th, they passed two small islands, and about noon on the following day sighted more land, which was conjectured to be either the Arrou Islands, or Timor Laut. On Wednesday they saw a number of fires and smoke in several places, whence it was conjectured that the place was well peopled. The land near the shore was covered with high trees not unlike pines ; further back were cocoa-trees and mangroves.

On the morning of the 17th, as the ship was clear of all the islands which had been laid down in such maps as were on board, they were surprised at sighting an island to the W.S.W., which they supposed was a new discovery. Before noon they saw houses, groves of cocoa-nut trees, and large flocks of sheep, a most welcome sight to people whose health was declining for want of fresh provisions. The second lieutenant was immediately despatched in the pinnace in search of a landing-place, and he took with him such things as it was thought might be acceptable to the natives in effecting purchases. During Mr. Gore's absence, the people on board saw two men on horseback, up on the hills, who frequently stopped to take a view of the vessel. The lieutenant soon returned with an account that he had entered a little cove, near which stood a few houses ; that several men

advanced and invited him to land; and that they conversed together as well as they could by signs. He reported that these people were very like the Malays in person and dress, and that they had no other arms but a knife, which each of them wore in his girdle.

The lieutenant not being able to find any place in which the ship might come to an anchor, he was despatched, with money and goods, to buy such necessities as were immediately wanted for the sick. Dr. Solander accompanied the lieutenant, and during their absence the ship stood on and off the shore. Soon after the boat had left, two other horsemen were seen from the ship, one of whom had a laced hat on, and was dressed in a European coat and waistcoat. These men rode about on shore, taking little notice of the boat, but regarding the ship with the utmost attention. As soon as the boat reached the shore, some other persons on horseback, and many on foot, hastened to the spot, and it was observed that some cocoa-nuts were put into the boat, from whence it was concluded that a traffic had commenced with the natives. A signal being made from the boat that the ship might anchor in a bay at some distance, she immediately bore away for it. When the lieutenant returned, he reported that he could not purchase any cocoa-nuts, as the owner of them was absent, and that what he had brought were given to him, in return for which he had presented the natives with some linen. The method by which he learned that there was a harbour in the neighbourhood, was by the natives drawing a kind of rude map on the sand, in which the harbour, and a town near it, were represented. It was likewise hinted to him that fruit, fowls, hogs, and sheep might be had in great abundance. He saw several of the principal inhabitants of the island, who had chains of gold about their necks, and wore fine linen. The word "Portuguese" being frequently repeated by the Indians, it was conjectured that some natives of Portugal were in the island, and one of the boat's crew being of that kingdom, he spoke to the islanders in his own language, but soon found that they had only learned a few words, of which they did not know the meaning.

When the ship entered the bay, an Indian town was seen at a distance; upon which a jack was hoisted on the foretop mast-head. Soon afterwards three guns were fired and Dutch colours hoisted in the town; the ship, however, held on her way and came to an anchor at seven in the evening. The captain, concluding that the Dutch had a settlement on the island, dispatched his second lieutenant to acquaint the governor, or other principal resident, who they were, and that the ship had put in for necessary provisions. The lieutenant having landed, was received by a guard of about twenty Indians, armed with muskets, who proceeded without the least military order, and escorted him to the town, where the colours had been hoisted the preceding evening. The lieutenant was now conducted to the rajah, or king of the island, to whom, by means of a Portuguese interpreter, he made known his business. The rajah said he was ready to supply the ship with the necessary refreshments, but that he could not trade with any other people than the Dutch, with whom he was in alliance, without having first obtained their consent. He added, however, that he would make application to the Dutch agent, who was the only white man among them. To this agent, whose name was Lange, and who proved to be the person that was seen from the ship in the European dress, a letter was dispatched, and in a few hours he came to the town, behaved politely to the lieutenant, and told him he might buy what he thought proper of the inhabitants of the island. This offer being freely made, and readily accepted, the rajah and Mr. Lange intimated their wishes to go on board the ship, and that two of the boat's crew might be left as hostages for their safe return. The lieutenant gratified them in both these requests, and took them on board just before dinner was served. As Dr. Solander and another gentleman on board were tolerably proficient in Dutch, they acted as interpreters between Mr. Lange and the officers; while some of the sailors, who understood Portuguese, conversed with such of the rajah's attendants as spoke that language. The dinner consisted chiefly of mutton, which so pleased the rajah that he requested of

them an English sheep, and the only one they had left was presented to him. Their compliance in this particular encouraged the rajah to ask for an English dog, and Mr. Banks politely gave up his greyhound. A spy-glass was also presented to him, Mr. Lange having intimated that such a present would be very acceptable.

Their visitors now informed them that the island abounded with buffaloes, sheep, hogs, and fowls, plenty of which should be driven down to the shore the next day. This put them all in such high spirits that the liquor circulated rather faster than either the Indians or the Saxons could bear; but they had, however, the resolution to express a desire to depart before they were quite intoxicated. They were dismissed with many presents, and on their departure were saluted with nine guns. Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander accompanied them, and when they put off returned their compliments with three cheers. These gentlemen, on their arrival at the town, tasted their palm-wine, which was the fresh juice of the trees, unfermented. It had a sweet but not disagreeable taste, and hopes were entertained that it might contribute to recover the sick from the scurvy. The houses of the natives consisted of only a thatched roof, supported over a boarded floor by pillars about 4 feet high.

On the morning of Wednesday, the 19th, Captain Cook, attended by several gentlemen, went on shore to return the rajah's visit; but their principal intention was to purchase the cattle and fowls which they had been assured, the preceding day, should be driven down to the beach. They were greatly chagrined at finding no steps had been taken to fulfil this promise; however, they proceeded to the house of assembly, which, with a few other houses, built by the Dutch East India Company, are distinguished from the rest, by having two pieces of wood, resembling a pair of cow's horns, fixed on each end of the roof. At the house of assembly they saw Mr. Lange and the rajah, surrounded by many of the principal people. Captain Cook having informed them that he had loaded his boat with goods, which he wished to exchange for necessary refresh-

ments, permission was given him to land them. They now endeavoured to make an agreement for the hogs, sheep, and buffaloes, which were to be paid for in cash ; but this business was no sooner hinted than Mr. Lange took his leave, having first told the captain that he had received a letter from the governor of Concordia, in Timor, the contents of which should be disclosed at his return. As the morning was now far advanced, and they had no fresh provisions on board, they requested the rajah's permission to buy a small hog, and some rice, and to order his people to dress the dinner. He very obligingly replied that if they could eat victuals dressed by his subjects, which he could scarcely suppose, he would do himself the honour of entertaining them. A dinner being thus procured, the captain sent off the boat to bring liquor from the ship. It was ready about five o'clock, and after they were seated on mats, which were spread on the floor, it was served in six-and-thirty baskets. When dinner was ended, of which the rajah declined to partake, pleading the custom of his country, the captain invited him to drink wine with them, but he excused himself, saying, the man who entertained his guests should never get drunk with them. The prime minister and Mr. Lange were of the party, and the English made a luxurious meal. The pork and rice were excellent, and the broth not to be despised ; but the spoons made of leaves were so small, that few had patience to use them. When the wine had circulated some time, they took an opportunity to inquire after the buffaloes and sheep, of which they had not yet heard a syllable, though they were to have been at the beach early in the morning. Mr. Lange informed the captain that, in a letter which he pretended to have received from the governor of Concordia, instructions were given that if the ship should touch at this island, and be in want of provisions, she should be supplied, but he was not to permit her to remain longer than was necessary ; nor were any large presents to be made to the natives of low rank, but that any trifling civilities received from the Indians might be acknowledged by a present of beads, or other articles of very small value. It is probable that the whole of this story was a

fiction, and that by precluding our liberality to the natives, the Dutchman hoped more easily to fill his own pockets. In the evening they were informed that a few sheep had been brought to the beach, which had been driven away before the captain could procure money from the ship to pay for them. Some fowls, however, were bought, and a large quantity of syrup, made of the juice of the palm-tree. This, though infinitely superior to molasses or treacle, sold at a very low price. Vexed at being thus disappointed, they remonstrated with Mr. Lange, who said, had they gone down to the beach themselves, they might have purchased what they pleased; but that the natives were afraid of being imposed upon by the seamen with counterfeit money. Although this story was not credited, Captain Cook repaired to the beach, but no cattle were to be seen, nor were any at hand to be bought. During his absence, Lange told Mr. Banks that the Indians were offended that gold had not been offered, without which nothing could be bought, but Mr. Banks declined holding further conversation with a man who had been guilty of such repeated falsehoods, and left him abruptly.

On the 20th Dr. Solander went on shore with Captain Cook, and while the former went up to the town to speak to Lange, the captain remained on the beach with the view of purchasing provisions. Here he met with an old Indian, who appeared to have some authority, and had among the crew been distinguished by the name of the prime minister. In order to engage this man in their interest, the captain presented him with a spy-glass. Nothing but a small buffalo was offered to be sold, and the price asked was five guineas, nearly twice its value. Three, however, were offered, which the dealer thought a good price, but said that he must acquaint the king with what had been bid before he could strike the bargain. A messenger was immediately dispatched to inform the rajah, who, on his return, brought word that not less than five guineas would be taken. The captain resolved to give this sum, and a second messenger was sent. During his absence Dr. Solander was seen coming from the town, followed by about a hundred men, some of whom were armed



with muskets and others with lances, and upon inquiring into the meaning of this hostile appearance, the doctor said that Lange stated that the people would not trade with them because they had refused to give more than half the value for their commodities, and that all trade would be prohibited after that day.

The English gentlemen had no doubt but that this order of the rajah was a contrivance of Lange, and while they were debating how to act in this critical conjuncture, anxious to bring the affair to a speedy issue, Lange's adherents began to drive away such of the natives as had brought palm-syrup and fowls to sell, and others who were now bringing sheep and buffaloes to the market.

At this juncture, Captain Cook, happening to look at the old man who had been distinguished by the name of prime minister, imagined he saw in his features a disapprobation of the present proceedings; and willing to improve the advantage, he grasped the Indian's hand, and gave him an old broadsword. This well-timed present produced all the good effects that could be wished; the prime minister was enraptured with this honourable mark of distinction, and the whole business was now accomplished. The natives, eager to supply whatever was wanted, brought their cattle for sale, and the market was soon stocked. For the first two buffaloes Captain Cook gave ten guineas, but he afterwards purchased them by exchange, giving a musket for each, and at this rate he might have bought any number he thought proper. There remained no doubt but that Lange had a profit out of the two that were sold, and that his reason for saying that the natives would take nothing but gold for their cattle was, that he might the more easily share in the produce. Captain Cook purchased of the natives of this island some hundred gallons of palm syrup, a small quantity of garlic, a large number of eggs, some limes and cocoa-nuts, thirty dozen of fowls, three hogs, six sheep, and nine buffaloes. Having obtained these necessary articles, they now prepared for sailing from this island, which is named Sava, and is situated in 10° 35' S. lat. and 237° 30' W. long.

About two years before the *Endeavour* was in these seas, a French ship was wrecked on the coast of Timor. She had been lodged on the rocks several days, when the wind broke her up, and the captain, with the greater part of the seamen, was drowned; but the lieutenant and about eighty men, having reached the shore, travelled across the country of Concordia, where their immediate wants were relieved, and they afterwards returned to the wreck, in company with some Dutchmen and Indians, who assisted them in recovering all their chests of bullion and other effects. This done, they returned to Concordia, where they remained seven weeks; but during this interval death made such havoc among them, that not above half their number lived to return to their native country.

On the 21st of September the *Endeavour* got under weigh, and proceeded to the westward. On the 28th they steered all day north-west, with the view of making the island of Java; and on the 30th Captain Cook took possession of the log-book and all the journals he could find of the officers, petty officers, and seamen, upon whom he strictly enjoined secrecy with respect to where they had been. At seven in the evening they had thunder and lightning, and at twelve, by the light of the flashes, saw the west end of Java.

On the 2nd of October they were close in with the coast of Java, along which they now steered. In the forenoon a boat was sent ashore, in order to procure some fruit for Tupia, who was at this time extremely ill. The people returned with four cocoa-nuts and a small bunch of plantains, for which they paid a shilling, and also herbage for the cattle. The country had a delightful appearance, being everywhere covered with trees, which looked like one continuous wood. About eleven o'clock they saw two Dutch East Indiamen, from whom they heard that the *Swallow* had reached the English Channel in safety, having been at Batavia about two years before.

At six o'clock in the evening of the 3rd, the country boats came alongside, bringing birds, monkeys, and other articles, but they asked such high prices that little was purchased.

The captain, indeed, gave two dollars for twenty-five fowls and a Spanish dollar for a turtle, which weighed about six-and-thirty pounds. The master of the Dutch packet came on board, and brought with him two books, in one of which he desired one of the officers would write down the name of the ship and her commander; the place from whence she came; to what port bound; with other particulars relating to the crew, for the information of any Englishmen who might come after. In the other book, the master himself entered the name of the ship and its captain, in order to transmit them to the governor and council of the Indies. Mr. Hicks having written the name of the ship, only added "from Europe." The master of the packet took notice of this, but said that he was satisfied with anything they thought fit to write, it being intended solely for the information of his friends.

On the 5th they made several attempts to sail, and as often came to an anchor, but at length the *Endeavour* held her course till the next morning, when, on account of the rapidity of the current, the anchor was dropped again. They weighed anchor and brought to several times till the 8th, when they anchored near a little island, not laid down in any chart on board, called the Milles Isles. Messrs. Banks and Solander having landed upon it, collected a few plants, and shot a bat, which was a yard long, measuring from the extreme points of the wings.

Soon after the gentlemen returned to the ship some Malays came alongside, in a boat, bringing with them dried fish and turtle for sale; one of the turtles, which weighed nearly 150 pounds, they sold for a dollar. The ship made but little way till night, when, the land-breeze springing up, they sailed to the E.S.E., and on the following day came to an anchor in the roadstead of Batavia. The *Endeavour* had no sooner anchored than a ship was observed, with a broad pennant flying, from which a boat was dispatched to demand the name of the vessel with that of the commander. To these inquiries Captain Cook gave such answers as he thought proper, and the officer who commanded the boat departed. This gentleman, and the crew that attended him, were so

worn out by the unhealthiness of the climate that it was apprehended many deaths would follow among the crew; yet there was no invalid on board the *Endeavour* except the Indian, Tupia. The ship had become so leaky that she made, on an average, 9 inches of water in an hour; part of her false keel was gone; one of her pumps was totally useless, and the rest so much decayed that they could not last long. The officers and seamen concurring in opinion that the ship could not safely put to sea in this condition, the captain resolved to solicit permission to heave her down; but as he had learned that this must be done in writing, he drew up a petition and had it translated into Dutch.

On Wednesday, October the 10th, the captain and the rest of the gentlemen went on shore, and applied to the only English resident at Batavia; this gentleman, whose name was Leith, received his countrymen in the politest manner, and entertained them at dinner with great hospitality. In the afternoon the captain attended the governor-general, who received him politely, and told him to wait on the council the next morning, when his petition should be laid before them, and everything that he solicited should be granted. Late in the evening of this day there happened a most terrible storm of thunder and lightning, accompanied with very heavy rain, by which a Dutch East Indiaman was greatly damaged. The *Endeavour*, which was a small distance from the Dutch ship, escaped without damage, owing, most probably, to an electrical chain which conducted the lightning over the vessel. A sentry on board the *Endeavour*, who was charging his musket at the time of the storm, had it shaken out of his hand and the ramrod broken in pieces. The electrical chain looked like a stream of fire, and the ship sustained a very violent shock.

On the 11th Captain Cook waited on the gentlemen of the council, who informed him that all his requests should be complied with.

Tupia had hitherto continued on board on account of his disorder, which was of the bilious kind, but he persisted in refusing every medicine that was offered him. Mr. Banks,

who had hired a small house on shore, now sent for him in hopes that he might recover his health. While in the ship, and even in the boat, he was exceedingly listless and low-spirited, but he no sooner entered the town than he seemed as if reanimated. The houses, the carriages, streets, people, and a multiplicity of other objects, excited his astonishment. But if Tupia was astonished at the scene, his boy Tayeto was perfectly enraptured, dancing along the streets in a kind of ecstasy, and examining every object with a restless curiosity. Tupia remarked particularly the variety of dresses worn by the passing multitude, concerning which he made several inquiries. Being informed that here were people of different nations, each of whom wore the habit of his respective country, he desired that he might conform to the custom, and appear in that of Otaheite. Some South Sea cloth being sent for from the ship, he dressed himself with great expedition and dexterity. The people of Batavia, who had seen an Indian brought thither in M. Bougainville's ship, named Otourou, mistook Tupia for that person, and frequently asked if he was not the same. The captain found an unexpected difficulty in procuring money for the expenses that would be incurred by refitting the *Endeavour*, private persons having neither the ability nor inclination to advance the sum required; he therefore sent a written application to the governor himself, who ordered a supply to the captain out of the Company's treasury.

Thursday, the 18th, after a delay of some days, they sailed to Ourust, and laid the ship alongside of the wharf on Cooper's Island, in order to take out her stores. After little more than nine days they began to feel the fatal effects of the climate. Tupia sunk on a sudden, and grew every day worse and worse. Tayeto, his boy, was seized with inflammation of the lungs. Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander were attacked with fever, and two servants of the former became very ill; in short, almost every person, both on board and on shore, fell sick in a few days, owing, as was imagined, to the low swampy situation of the place, and the numberless dirty canals that intersect the town in all directions.

By the 26th few of the crew were able to do duty. Tupia desired to be removed to the ship, in hopes of breathing a freer air. However, this could not be done, as she was unrigged, and preparing to be laid down at the careening place. On the 28th, however, Mr. Banks conveyed him to Cooper's Island, and a tent was pitched for him in a situation where the sea and land breezes might blow over him.

On the 5th of November died Mr. Monkhouse, the surgeon, whose loss was severely felt, for not only was he a sensible, skilful man, but his death occurred at a time when his abilities were most wanted. Dr. Solander was just able to attend his funeral, but Mr. Banks in his turn was confined to his bed. The power of disease, from the pestiferous air of the country, daily gained strength. Several Malay servants were hired to attend the sick, but they had so little sense either of duty or humanity, that the patient was obliged frequently to get out of bed to seek them.

On the 9th the Indian boy, Tayeto, paid the debt of nature, and poor Tupia was so affected at the loss, that it was evident he could not long survive him. The ship's bottom having been carefully examined, it was found to be in a worse condition than had been apprehended. The false keel was in a great measure gone; the main keel was injured in many places; much of the sheathing was torn off, and several planks were greatly damaged: the worms, also, had made their way quite into the timber; yet in this condition the *Endeavour* had sailed many hundred leagues, in seas where navigation is as dangerous as in any part of the globe.

Dr. Solander and Mr. Banks were now so worn down by their disorders that their medical attendant declared they had no chance of recovery but by removing into the country. A house was therefore hired for them, about two miles from the town; and they bought two Malay women, who, from the tenderness of their sex, became good nurses. While these gentlemen were taking measures for the recovery of their health, Tupia sunk under his disorder and the loss of his boy, Tayeto, whom he loved with the tenderness of a parent. When Tayeto was first seized with the fatal disorder

he seemed sensible of his approaching end, and frequently said to those that were about him, "See, my friends, I am dying." He was very tractable, and took any medicine that was offered him. They were both buried in the island of Edam.

During the night of the 25th there fell a shower of rain for the space of four hours, such as the voyagers had scarcely ever remembered. The water poured through every part of Mr. Banks' house, and the lower apartments admitted a stream sufficient to turn a mill. As this gentleman was now greatly restored to health, he went to Batavia the following day. About the 26th of November the westerly monsoon set in, blowing, in the daytime, from the north or north-west, and from the south-west during the night. Previous to this there had been violent showers of rain for several nights. The mosquitoes and gnats now began to swarm in immense numbers, rising from the puddles of water like bees from a hive. The frogs also kept up a perpetual croaking in the ditches, a certain sign that the wet season was commenced, and that daily rain might be expected.

The *Endeavour* being repaired, the sick people received on board her, and the greater part of her water and stores taken in, she sailed from Ourust on the 8th of December, and anchored in Batavia roads. Twelve days were employed in receiving the remainder of her provisions, water, and other necessaries, though the business would have been done in much less time but that some of the crew died, and the majority of the survivors were so ill as to be unable to give their assistance.

On the 5th Captain Cook took leave of the governor and some other gentlemen who had showed him attention; but at this juncture an incident occurred that might have produced consequences by no means desirable. A sailor, belonging to one of the Dutch ships in the roads of Batavia, deserted from the vessel, and entered himself on board the *Endeavour*. The captain of the Dutch ship having made application to the governor, claiming the delinquent as a subject of the States-General, the governor issued his order for the restora-

tion of the man. When this order was delivered to the British officer, he said the man should be given up if he were a Dutchman. As the captain was at this time on shore, and did not intend going on board till the following day, he gave the Dutch officer a note to the lieutenant who commanded on board the *Endeavour* to deliver the deserter on the condition above mentioned. On the following day the Dutchman waited on Captain Cook, informing him that the lieutenant had absolutely refused to give up the seaman, saying he was an Irishman, and, of course, a subject of his Britannic Majesty. Captain Cook applauded the conduct of his officer, and added that it could not be expected that he should deliver up an English subject. The Dutch officer then said he was authorised by the governor to demand the fugitive as a Danish subject, adding that his name was entered in the ship's books as having been born at Elsinore. To this Captain Cook very properly replied that the governor must have been mistaken when he gave this order for delivering the deserter, who had his option whether he would serve the Dutch or the English; but in compliment to the governor, the man should be given up as a favour, if he appeared to be a Dane, but that in this case he should by no means be demanded as a right; and that he would certainly keep him if he appeared to be a subject of the crown of Great Britain. The Dutchman now took his leave, and had not been long gone before the captain received a letter from the commanding officer on board, containing full proof that the man was an English subject. This letter the captain carried to the Dutch officer, desiring him to lay it before the governor, and to inform him that the man should not be delivered up on any terms whatever. This spirited conduct on the part of Captain Cook had the desired effect, and thus the matter ended.

The captain, attended by Mr. Banks and the other gentlemen, who had hitherto lived in the town, now repaired on board the ship, which got under weigh the next morning. The *Endeavour* was saluted by the fort and by the *Elgin* East Indiaman, which then lay in the roads; but soon after



these compliments were returned, the sea-breeze setting in, they were obliged to come to anchor. Since the arrival of the ship in Batavia roads, every person belonging to her had been ill, except the sailmaker, who was more than seventy years old, and who had been drunk every day they remained there. The *Endeavour* buried seven of her people at Batavia, viz, Tupia and his boy, three of the sailors, the servant of Mr. Green the astronomer, and the surgeon; and at the time of the vessel's sailing, forty of the crew were sick, and the rest so enfeebled by their late illness as to be scarcely able to do their duty.

Batavia is built on the bank of a large bay, something more than twenty miles from the Straits of Sunda, on the north side of the island of Java. Several small rivers which rise forty miles up the country, in the mountains of Blauwen Berg, discharge themselves into the sea at this place, having first intersected the town in different directions. There are wide canals of nearly stagnant water in almost every street, and as the banks of the canals are planted with trees, the effect is very agreeable; but these trees and canals combine to render the air pestilential. Some of the rivers are navigable more than thirty miles up the country; and, indeed, the Dutch appear to have chosen this spot, for the sake of water carriage, in which convenience Batavia exceeds every place in the world, except the towns of Holland.

The town is entered by two drawbridges; in the north-east corner is a castle, and no persons are permitted to walk on the ramparts.

Apartments are provided in this castle for the governor-general and all the council. In the castle are likewise a number of storehouses, in which the effects of the Dutch company are deposited. They have in their possession large quantities of gunpowder, which is kept in different places, in order that the lightning may not destroy the whole stock at once; a large number of cannon are likewise laid up within the castle. There are a great many forts built in different parts of the country, several miles distant from Batavia, and there are also a number of fortified houses.

The island of Java produces horses, buffaloes, sheep, goats, and hogs. The horned cattle of the country are different from those of Europe, and are quite lean, but the flesh is of a very fine grain. The Chinese and the natives of Java eat the buffalo's flesh, which the Dutch generally refuse, being impressed with an idea that it produces fever. The sheep are hairy, like goats, and have long ears; they are mostly found to be tough and ill flavoured. The hogs, especially those of the Chinese stock, are very fine food, and so fat, that the lean is separately sold to the butchers, who are Chinese; the fat they melt, and sell to their countrymen to be eaten with rice.

The Portuguese shoot the wild hogs and deer, which are sold at a moderate price, and are good eating; the goats are as indifferent as the sheep. The waters around Batavia abound in fish of many varieties. Very large lizards are common in the island, and Mr. Banks shot one five feet long, which, being dressed, proved very agreeable to the taste.

The inhabitants of Java are Mohammedans, and hence do not drink wine publicly; but in private few of them will refuse it. They also chew opium, whose intoxicating qualities prove its recommendation to the natives of India and China.

On Thursday, the 27th of December, 1770, the *Endeavour* left the harbour of Batavia, and stood out to sea. On the 29th, after much delay by contrary winds, they weathered Pulo Pare, and stood for the mainland. On the same day they passed a small island between Batavia and Bantam called Man-eater's Island.

On the morning of New Year's Day, Tuesday, January 1, 1771, they steered for the Java shore, and continued their course, as the wind permitted, till three o'clock in the afternoon of the 5th, when they cast anchor on the south-east side of Prince's Island, to recruit their stores and procure provisions for the sick, many of whom were much worse than they were at their departure from Batavia. Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander, accompanied by the captain and other gentlemen, went ashore. They met upon the beach some Indians, by whom they were conducted to one who

they said was their king. Mr. Banks paid this potentate a visit on the following evening; and was received very graciously at his palace, in the middle of a rice-field, notwithstanding his majesty was busily employed in dressing his own supper. Monday, the 7th, the Indians resorted to the trading place with fowls, fish, monkeys, small deer, and some vegetables; but no turtle appeared till the next day, Tuesday, the 8th, after which some were brought to market every day.

Friday, the 11th, Mr. Banks having received intelligence from a servant he had hired at Batavia, that the Indians of this island had a town situated near the shore, to the westward, he determined to go in search of it. With this view he set out in the morning, accompanied by the second lieutenant; and apprehending his visit might not be agreeable to the natives, he told such of them as he met that he was in search of plants, which was, indeed, also true. An old man guided them to the town, the name of which is Samadang. It consisted of about four hundred houses, divided by a broadish river into two parts, one called the old and the other the new town. When they entered the former, they were accosted by several Indians, whom they had seen at the trading place, and one of whom undertook to carry them over to the new town at twopence per head. The bargain being made, they embarked in two small canoes, placed alongside each other, and lashed together to prevent their upsetting. They landed safely, though not without some difficulty; and when they came to the new town, the people paid them every mark of cordial friendship, showing them the houses of their king and principal people. Few of the houses were open at this time, the inhabitants having taken up their residence in the rice-grounds, to defend their crops against the birds and monkeys, who, without this necessary precaution, would destroy them. When their curiosity was satisfied, they hired a large sailing boat for two rupees, value four shillings, which conveyed them to the ship in time to dine upon one of the small deer, weighing only forty pounds, which proved to be exceeding good and savoury food. On Sunday, the 13th, having nearly completed their wood and

water, Mr. Banks took leave of his majesty, to whom he made several trifling presents, and at parting gave him two quires of paper, which he graciously accepted.

On Thursday, the 15th, they weighed, with a light breeze at north-east, and stood out to sea. Prince's Island, where they had passed about ten days, is a small island, situated in the western mouth of the Straits of Sunda; it is woody, a very small portion having been cleared.

The inhabitants are Javanese, and their rajah is subject to the Sultan of Bantam. They profess the Mohammedan religion, but not a mosque was seen in the whole island. While the *Endeavour* lay there, they kept the fast called by the Turks Ramadan with extreme rigour, not one of them touching a morsel of victuals; nor would they chew their betel till sunset.

The *Endeavour* held on her course during the month of February, and made the best of her way for the Cape of Good Hope. The fatal seeds of disease the people had imbibed at Batavia began now to appear in dysenteries and low fevers. In a short time the ship was little better than a hospital, and almost every night a corpse was committed to the sea. Mr. Banks was among the number of the sick, and for some time his life was despaired of. In the course of six weeks they buried Mr. Sporting, a gentleman of Mr. Banks' retinue; Mr. Parkinson, his natural history painter; Mr. Green, the astronomer; the boatswain, the carpenter and his mate, Mr. Monkhouse, the sailmaker and his assistant, the cook, the corporal of marines, two of the carpenter's crew, a midshipman, and nine sailors; in all, three-and-twenty persons, besides the seven that had been buried in Batavia; such was the havoc disease had made among the ship's company, though they omitted no means which might prevent the infection from spreading.

Friday, the 15th of March, about ten o'clock P.M., the ship came to an anchor off the Cape of Good Hope. Captain Cook repaired immediately to the governor, who cheerfully promised him every refreshment the country afforded; on which a house was hired for the sick, and it was agreed that

they should be lodged and boarded for two shillings each man a day.

At the time the *Endeavour* lay at the Cape of Good Hope, the *Houghton* Indiaman sailed for England. She had buried nearly forty of her crew, and when she left the Cape, had many of her hands in a helpless condition, occasioned by the scurvy. Other ships also experienced a proportionate loss by sickness, so that the sufferings of the *Endeavour* were comparatively light, considering her long absence from England. They continued at the Cape till the 13th of April, to recover the sick, procure stores, and do some necessary work upon the ship and rigging; and on Sunday, the 14th, having taken leave of the governor, unmoored, and got ready to sail.

On the following Thursday died Mr. Robert Molineux, a promising youth. They continued their voyage without any remarkable incident, and on Monday, the 29th, crossed the first meridian, having circumnavigated the globe from E. to W., and consequently lost a day, for which, upon correcting their reckoning at Batavia, they made allowance. On Monday, the 1st of May, they came to anchor before James's Fort, in the island of St. Helena, and Mr. Banks employed his time in visiting the most remarkable places and in surveying every object of note.

St. Helena is situated almost midway between Africa and America, being twelve hundred miles distant from the former, and eighteen hundred from the latter. It was so named by the Portuguese, who discovered it on St. Helen's day. As the *Endeavour* approached the island on the windward side, it appeared like a rude heap of rocks, bounded by precipices of an amazing height. Sailing along shore, they came near the huge cliffs which seemed to overhang the ship. At length they opened Chapel Valley, in which lies the town. The sides of the valley are as naked as the cliffs next the sea; but the bottom is slightly covered with herbage.

Notwithstanding the land appears a barren rock on every side, yet on the top it is covered with a fine layer of earth, producing grain, fruits, and herbs of various kinds; and the

country, after ascending the rock, is diversified with rising hills and plains, plantations of fruit trees, and kitchen gardens, among which the houses of the natives are interspersed ; and in the open fields are herds of cattle grazing, some of which are fatted to supply the shipping, and the rest furnish the dairies with milk, butter, and cheese. Hogs, goats, turkeys, and all manner of poultry also abound, and the seas are well stored with fish. Besides grapes, they have plantains, bananas, and such other fruit as hot countries usually produce. They also raise kidney beans, potatoes, and yams.

In the year 1701 there were upon the island about 100 families, most of them English, or descended from English parents.

The Portuguese, who discovered this island in 1502, stored it with hogs, goats, and poultry, and used to touch at it for water and fresh provisions in their return from India ; but we do not find they ever planted a colony there ; or, if they did, having deserted it afterwards, the English East India Company took possession of the island A.D. 1600, and held it till 1673, without interruption, when the Dutch took it by surprise. However, the English, commanded by Captain Munden, recovered it again within the space of one year, and took three Dutch East India ships that lay in the roads at the time. The Dutch had fortified the landing-place, and placed batteries of great guns to prevent a descent, but the English being acquainted with a small creek where only two men could go abreast, climbed up to the top of the rocks in the night time, and appearing next morning at the backs of the Dutch, they threw down their arms without striking a blow ; but this creek has been since fortified, so that there is now no place where an enemy can make a descent with any probability of success.

The affairs of the East India Company are managed here by a governor, deputy-governor, and storehouse-keeper, who have certain settled salaries allowed, besides a public table well furnished, to which all commanders, masters of ships, and eminent passengers are welcome.

The natives sometimes call the result of their deliberations, severe impositions, and though relief might perhaps be had from the Company in England, yet the unavoidable delays in returning answers to addresses at that distance puts the aggrieved under great hardship. On the other hand, were not the situation of this island very serviceable to our homeward-bound East India ships, the constant trouble and expense would induce the Company to abandon it ; for though it is furnished with the conveniences of life, the merchants find no other profitable commodities there.

The children and descendants of the white people of St. Helena are remarkable for their ruddy complexions and robust constitutions. Their healthiness may, in general, be ascribed to the following causes. They live on the top of a mountain always open to the sea-breezes that constantly blow here ; they are usually employed in the most healthful exercises of gardening and husbandry ; the island is frequently refreshed with moderate cooling showers, and no noxious fens or salt marshes annoy them. They are accustomed also to climb the steep hill between the town in Chapel Valley and their plantations. This hill is so steep, that, having a ladder in the centre, they call it Ladder-hill ; and as this cannot be avoided without going three or four miles round, they seldom want air or exercise—the great preservatives of health. As to the genius and temper of these people, they seemed to be the most hospitable ever met with of English extraction, having scarce any tincture of avarice or ambition.

Having sufficiently recruited their stores, on Saturday, the 4th of May, the *Endeavour* weighed and sailed out of the roadstead in company with the *Portland* man-of-war and her convoy, consisting of twelve sail of East Indiamen. With the fleet they continued their course for England until Friday, the 10th, when, perceiving they were outsailed, Captain Cook made the signal to speak with the *Portland*, upon which Captain Elliot came on board the *Endeavour* ; a letter for the Admiralty was then delivered to him, with a box containing the common log-books of the ship, and the journals

of some of the officers. The *Endeavour* did not lose sight of the fleet till Thursday, the 23rd. About one o'clock in the afternoon of that day they lost the first lieutenant, Mr. Hicks, an active, skilful, and judicious officer. He died of consumption, of which lingering disorder he discovered some symptoms when he left England, so that it might be said that he was dying the whole voyage; his decline was very gradual till he arrived at Batavia, from whence, to the time of his dissolution, the disease gained strength daily. The whole ship's company attended the funeral, and his body was committed to the sea with the usual ceremonies. The next day the captain appointed Mr. Charles Clerke, a young officer, to act in the room of Mr. Hicks. They now drew near their desired haven, and held on their course without any material occurrence, till Monday, the 10th of June, when, to their great joy, Nicholas Young, the boy who first discovered New Zealand, sighted land from the mast-head, which proved to be the Lizard. The next day, being Tuesday, the 11th, they proceeded up the Channel; on Wednesday they passed Beachy Head with the pleasing hope of soon seeing their relatives and friends. At noon they were abreast of Dover, and about three o'clock in the afternoon came to an anchor in the Downs, after an absence of two years nine months and fourteen days.



## THE SECOND VOYAGE ROUND THE WORLD.

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THE discoveries made by Captain Cook in his first voyage, when he circumnavigated the globe, ascertained that New Zealand consisted of two islands, and explored an immense tract of New Holland, now known as Australia, induced His Majesty King George III. to project a second expedition, also to be under the command of Captain Cook, and the Navy Board was ordered to equip two such ships as were most suitable for the service. Accordingly two vessels were purchased of Captain William Hammond, of Hull; they were both built at Whitby about sixteen months before, by the same person who built the *Endeavour*. The larger of the two, named the *Resolution*, of 462 tons burden, was sent to Deptford to be fitted out; and the *Adventure*, a vessel of 336 tons, was equipped at Woolwich. On the 28th of November, 1771, Captain Cook was appointed to the command of the *Resolution*, and Tobias Furneaux, who had been second lieutenant with Captain Wallis, was promoted to the command of the *Adventure*. The *Resolution* had 112 hands on board, officers included, and the *Adventure* had 81.

The two ships were ordered to be got in readiness with the utmost expedition, and both the Navy and Victualling boards paid unusual attention to their equipment. Indeed, Captain Cook sailed with greater advantages in this expedition than

any of his predecessors who had gone out before on voyages of discovery. He had the frame of a vessel of twenty tons, one for each ship, to serve occasionally, or upon any emergency, as tenders. He had on board fishing-nets, lines, and hooks of every kind; he was supplied with innumerable articles of small value, adapted to the commerce of the tropical islands; also additional clothing for the seamen, particularly suited to a cold climate, to all which were added the best instruments for astronomical and nautical observations, including four timepieces on Mr. Harrison's principle, constructed by Messrs. Arnold and Kendal. And that nothing might be wanting to procure information, and could tend to the success of the voyage, Mr. William Hodges, a landscape painter, was engaged for this important undertaking, and also Mr. John Reinhold Foster and his son, both eminent naturalists. Mr. William Wales, and Mr. William Bailey, were likewise engaged to make astronomical observations; the former being placed by the Board of Longitude in the *Resolution*, and Mr. Bailey in the *Adventure*. A number of medals were also struck by order of the Lords of the Admiralty, intended to be left as presents and memorials in newly-discovered countries.

The two ships were victualled and provided with all manner of necessaries for a three years' voyage, and all the conveniences necessary for the preservation of health during that time, were provided in abundance.

A voyage attended with such extraordinary preparations, patronised by Parliament as well as assisted by the royal bounty, and the preparations superintended by the first officers of the Admiralty, the navy, and by Captain Cook himself, might, with propriety, be pronounced the most important ever performed in any age, or by any country; and it may also be asserted, with truth, that the able navigator selected by his sovereign was equal to the task on which he was embarked. Everyone who has read the account of his first voyage cannot but admire his skill, his fortitude, his care of his men; his vigilance in attending to the minutest intimations of former navigators, and his perseverance amidst the dangers

and hardships of rigorous seasons; in short, his conduct throughout was beyond all praise, for while he kept every man in strict subordination, he conciliated the affections of all and secured their esteem.

Captain Cook received from the Board of Admiralty his instructions, dated the 25th of June, the tenor and substance of which were as follows:—That the *Adventure* was to be under his command; that the two ships were to proceed to the island of Madeira, and from thence to the Cape of Good Hope; that having at this place refreshed the ship's companies, and supplied them with provisions and other necessities, they were to make the best of their way to the southward, in search of Cape Circumcision, which, by M. Bouvet, is said to be in latitude  $54^{\circ}$  S., and in about  $11^{\circ} 20'$  E. longitude, from the Royal Observatory at Greenwich. That if they fell in with this cape, Captain Cook was to endeavour by all means in his power to discover whether the same was part of the supposed continent which had so much engaged the attention of different European powers, or only the promontory of an island; that, in either case, the gentlemen on board the two ships were diligently to explore the same, to the utmost extent possible, and make such observations as might correspond with the grand object in view, and be useful to either navigation or commerce. That they were to proceed on new discoveries to the eastward or westward, as the captain might judge most eligible, endeavouring only to run into as high a latitude, and as near the South Pole as possible. That whatever might be the result of their investigations with respect to Cape Circumcision, they were to continue their surveys to the southward, and then to the eastward, either in search of the said continent, should it not have been ascertained, or to make discoveries of such islands as might be situated in the hitherto unexplored and unknown parts of the southern latitudes. That, having circumnavigated the globe, they were to return to Spithead by the way of the Cape of Good Hope, and that to answer the intentions of Government in this voyage as fully as possible, when the season of the year rendered it unsafe to continue in high

latitudes, they were to repair to some known port to the northward ; and after having refitted, were to return again at the proper season to the southward, in prosecution of new discoveries there. It may not be amiss here to observe, that these orders were not intended to cramp Captain Cook, who was allowed, in case the *Resolution* should be lost, to continue his voyage in the *Adventure*. To this end he had a strong staff of officers ; he was not limited as to time ; in short, he had ample power, full authority, and in all unforeseen cases he was to proceed according to his own discretion, and act entirely as he pleased.

A copy of the above instructions was transmitted to Captain Furneaux, together with Captain Cook's orders, in which he appointed, should the two ships be separated, the island of Madeira for the first place of rendezvous, Port Praya for the second, the Cape of Good Hope for the third, and New Zealand for the fourth.

While they remained at Plymouth, Mr. Wales and Mr. Bailey made observations on Drake's Island, when the latitude was found to be  $50^{\circ} 21' 30''$  N., and the longitude  $4^{\circ} 20'$  W. of Greenwich ; whereby the true time for putting the timepieces and watches in motion was ascertained. This was done on the 13th of July, and they were set agoing in the presence of the two astronomers, Captain Furneaux, Captain Cook, and the two first lieutenants of the ships. These had each of them keys of the boxes which contained the watches, and were always to be present at the winding them up, and comparing the one with the other, unless prevented by indisposition. This day the ships' crews, according to the custom of the navy, received two months' wages in advance. As a further encouragement that they might provide necessaries for the voyage, they were likewise paid the wages due to them to the 28th of the preceding May.

On Monday, the 13th of July, 1772, the ships left Plymouth. As they stood off shore the wind increased, and the sea ran so high that most of the seamen were affected with sickness. When in sight of Cape Finisterre they met a

small French tartan, from Marseilles, freighted with flour from Ferrol and Corunna, and gave to them a small supply of fresh water, which they much wanted, having been obliged to subsist on bread and wine. On the 22nd, in the afternoon, they passed two Spanish men-of-war, one of which fired a shot at the *Adventure*, to bring her to; but on hailing her, and being told they were king's ships, made an apology and took their leave, wishing them a good voyage. On Wednesday, the 29th, they anchored in Funchal roads, in the island of Madeira. The captain went on shore, accompanied by the two Fosters, and were conducted by Mr. Sills, a gentleman from the vice-consul, to the house of Mr. Loughnaus, a wealthy English merchant, who, during their stay, assisted them with everything the island and his house afforded.

The Madeira or Madera islands are only three in number, namely, Madeira properly so called; the island of Puerto, or Porto Santo; and Isla Deserta, or the Desolate Isle. They were thus named from the principal island, which was called by the Portuguese Madeira, signifying a wood or forest, being overgrown with trees. Their discovery is due to the spirit of adventure that animated the Portuguese in the fifteenth century, though it is said that they were first discovered by an Englishman of the name of Robert Machin, in the reign of King Edward III.

John I., King of Portugal, having entered into a war with the Moors, passed over into Africa with a formidable army, and in the year 1415 laid siege to and took Ceuta. In this expedition he was accompanied by his sons, one of whom, Prince Henry, took great delight in the study of mathematics, particularly geography and navigation. Upon this occasion he had a good opportunity of conversing with the Moors and African Jews; and informing himself by their means, of the situation of several foreign countries, the seas about them, and their coasts.

Hence grew an insatiable thirst for making new discoveries: and from this time he was determined to devote his attention to the discovery of unknown countries. In consequence of

which resolution he retired, after the reduction of Ceuta, to the Algarves, where he founded a new town within a league of Cape St. Vincent, erected a fort to defend it, and determined to send out ships from thence on voyages of discovery. The person he intended to employ as a chief commander upon these occasions was a gentleman of extraordinary abilities, named Juan Gonsalvo Zarco, who became famous not only for his maritime discoveries, but for being the first person who introduced the use of artillery on board ship. In 1418 he discovered Puerto Santo, and in 1420 discovered Madeira itself, landing at a place covered over with fennel, which in Portuguese language is called funcho; from thence the town of Funchal, or Funchiale, took its name, being afterwards built on the same spot.

Juan Gonsalvo, after having viewed other parts of the island, and finding daily new cause for admiration of the beauties continually discovered, returned to Portugal, and arrived at Lisbon in the end of August, 1420, without having lost a single man in the whole enterprise; and a day of audience being appointed for him to make his report of his voyage, the king gave the name of Madeira to the new discovered island, on account of the great quantity of wood found upon it. Soon after an order was made for Juan Gonsalvo to return to Madeira in the ensuing spring, with the title of Captain-Governor of Maderia, to which title the heir of his family at present adds that of count. He accordingly set sail on his second voyage in May, 1421, taking with him the greater part of his family; and arriving at Madeira, cast anchor in the roads, till then called English Port; but Gonsalvo, in honour of the first discoverer, renamed it Puerto de Machino, from which name it was corrupted to Machico, which it now bears. He soon after laid the foundation of the town of Funchal, which afterwards became famous; and the altar of the new wooden church was dedicated to St. Catherine by his wife Constantia, who was with him.

The island of Madeira, properly so called, is composed of one continued hill of a wonderful height, extending from east to west, the declivity of which on the south side is cultivated

and interspersed with vineyards ; and in the midst of this slope the merchants have fixed their country seats, which help to render the prospect very agreeable.

The ships departed from Madeira on the 1st of August, and on the 9th crossed the Tropic of Cancer.

On Monday, the 10th, they came to an anchor in Port Praya, in the isle of St. Jago, one of the Cape de Verds. An officer was sent on shore for leave to procure what necessaries they wanted, which was readily granted ; and on his return the ships saluted the fort with eleven guns. Here both the ships were supplied with plenty of good water ; they also recruited their live stock, such as hogs, goats, and poultry.

The island of St. Jago, or St. James's Island, is the most fruitful of all the Cape de Verd islands. The principal town, bearing the same name, stands on the slopes of the mountains, between which a deep valley, 200 yards wide, runs close to the sea. In that part of the valley nearest the sea is a straggling street, with houses on each side, and a rivulet of water flowing at the bottom, which empties itself into a fine cove or sandy bay, where ships can ride with great safety. A small fort stands near the landing-place, and not far from it, a battery mounted with a few small cannon.

A tolerably large town is on the east side of the island called Praya, where there is a good port, which is seldom without ships, especially in peaceable times. In former days East Indiamen, outward bound, used to touch at this port to take in water and provisions, but they seldom stopped here on their return to Europe. The town of Praya does not contain any remarkable building, except a fort, situated on the top of a hill, which commands the harbour.

On Friday, the 14th of August, both ships having got on board a supply of refreshments and provisions, weighed anchor and continued their voyage to the Cape of Good Hope. On the 19th, one of the carpenter's mates fell overboard and was drowned. He was sitting on one of the scuttles, from whence it was supposed he fell. All endeavours to save him were in vain, for he was not seen till the instant he sunk

under the ship's stern. His loss was much deplored by his shipmates, as he was a sober man and a good workman.

On Thursday, the 20th, it rained heavily, and they filled seven empty puncheons with fresh water. On the 27th one of Captain Furneaux's petty officers died, but on board the *Resolution* there was not one man sick, although much rain fell, which in the tropics is a great promoter of sickness. Captain Cook took every necessary precaution for the preservation of health, by airing and drying the ship with fires made between decks, and by making the crew air their bedding and wash their clothes at every opportunity.

On Tuesday, the 8th of September, they crossed the Line in longitude 8° W. Some of the crew, who had never passed the Line before, were obliged to undergo the usual ceremony of ducking, but others bought themselves off by paying the required forfeit of brandy.

On Thursday, the 29th, at two o'clock P.M., they made the land about Table Bay. They were visited by the master-attendant of the fort, some other officers belonging to the Company, and Mr. Brandt. This last gentleman brought many articles that were very acceptable; and the master-attendant, as is customary, took an account of the two ships, inquiring particularly if the smallpox was on board, a disorder dreaded above all others by the inhabitants of the Cape, for which reason a surgeon always attends on these visits. • Captain Cook sent an officer to wait upon Baron Plettenberg, the governor, to inform him of their arrival; and on the return of the officer with a polite message from the governor, the English saluted the fort with eleven guns, which compliment was acknowledged by the same number.

On the 22nd of November, having got everything on board, and taken leave of the governor and other officers, who in a most obliging manner had afforded all the necessary assistance they required, they weighed and saluted the fort with sixteen guns, which compliment was instantly returned. As soon as they had cleared the land, they directed their course, as ordered, to Cape Circumcision. As they were now advancing towards the Antarctic circle, and expected to en-



counter cold weather, the captain ordered the fresh water to be husbanded as much as possible; at the same time he supplied each man with a dreadnought jacket and trousers, allowed by the Admiralty, also "slops" to such who wanted them.

On the 29th a heavy storm came from the W.N.W., which lasted, with a few intervals of moderate weather, for nearly a week; the sea ran very high, and frequently broke over the ships, causing great discomfort to all on board. A boy in the fore part of the ship hearing a noise of water running among the chests, turned out of his bunk, and found the water nearly up to his knees. Upon this all hands worked at the pumps, but still the water increased, until at last it was discovered to come in through a scuttle in the boatswain's store-room. This gale, attended with hail and rain, continued till the 8th with such fury that they could carry no sails; and being thus driven far to the eastward of their intended course, not the least hope remained of reaching Cape Circumcision. Their distress was augmented by the loss of a great part of the live-stock they had brought from the Cape. As the people felt the effects of the sudden transition from warm to extreme cold weather, an addition was made to the allowance of brandy in both ships. On the morning of the 7th of December the rising sun gave a flattering prospect of serene weather, but the expectations soon vanished. The barometer fell unusually low, and by one o'clock P.M. the wind blew with such violence from the N.W. as to oblige them to strike the topgallant-masts. On the 8th the gale was somewhat abated, but the sea ran too high to carry more than the fore-topmast staysail.

On Wednesday, the 9th, at three A.M., Captain Cook wore the ship to the southward. Showers of snow fell, with squally weather. At eight, made signal for the *Adventure* to set sail. On the 10th made another signal for her to lead, and saw an iceberg to the westward. The weather being hazy, Captain Cook, by signal, called the *Adventure* under his stern, a fortunate circumstance, as the fog increased so much that they could not discern an iceberg,

for which they were steering, till they were within a mile of it. The sea broke very high against this iceberg, which Captain Furneaux took for land, and therefore hauled off from it, till he was called back by signal. It being now necessary to proceed with great circumspection, they reefed their topsails, and, upon sounding, found no ground with 150 fathoms.

On Monday, the 14th, a boat was hoisted out for two gentlemen to make some observations and experiments. While they were thus engaged, the fog increased so much that they lost sight of both ships. Their situation was truly alarming, as they were only in a small four-oared boat in an immense ocean, surrounded with ice, utterly destitute of provisions, and far from any habitable shore. They made various efforts to be heard, and rowed about for some time without effect; they could not see the length of their boat, nor hear any sound; they had neither mast nor sail, and only two oars. They determined to lie still, as the weather was calm, and hoped that the ships would not sail out of sight. They now heard a bell sounded at a distance, and were at last taken up by the *Adventure*. So great was the thickness of the fog sometimes, that the ships had the utmost difficulty to avoid running against the icebergs, with which they were surrounded. There were two men on board the *Resolution* who had been in the Greenland trade, and one had lain nine weeks, and the other six, stuck fast in a field of ice. As the crew complained of the cold, their jackets were lengthened with baize, and each of them had a cap made of the same stuff. Scorbutic symptoms appearing on some of the people, the surgeons gave them fresh wort every day, made from the malt they took out for that purpose.

On the 27th they had a dead calm, and devoted the opportunity to shooting petrels and penguins, which afforded great sport. The plumage of the penguin is very thick, the feathers long and narrow, and lie as close as scales, which secures them against wet, in which they almost continually live. Nature has likewise given them a thick skin, in order

to resist the perpetual winter of these inhospitable climates. The petrels are likewise well provided against the severity of the weather, and have an astonishing quantity of feathers, two feathers instead of one proceeding out of every root.

They now had very bad weather, consisting of thick fogs, rain, sleet, and snow, and were surrounded with great quantities of ice, and in constant danger of being injured by it.

On the 29th the commanders came to a resolution, provided they met with no impediment, to run as far west as Cape Circumcision, since the sea seemed to be pretty clear of ice, and the distance not more than eighty leagues. They steered for an iceberg this day, intending to take some on board and convert it into fresh water. They could not, however, take up any of the loose ice, for the wind rose and made it dangerous for the ships to remain among the ice; besides which, they discovered an immense field of ice to the north, extending further than the eye could reach.

On the 12th of January, 1773, the gale abated, but there fell much snow and sleet, which froze on the rigging of the ships. The wind continued moderate the next day, and they were favoured with a sight of the moon, which they had not seen since they left the Cape of Good Hope.

On Friday, the 8th, they passed several icebergs, and in the evening came to one which had a vast quantity of loose ice about it, and the weather being moderate, they sent the boats out to take up as much as they could. Large piles of it were packed upon the quarter-deck and put into casks, from which, after it was melted, they got water enough for thirty days; very little salt water adhered to the ice, which, when melted, was fresh and good. They observed near several white whales of an immense size.

On the 17th they crossed the Antarctic circle, and advanced into the southern frigid zone, which to all former navigators had remained impenetrable. In the afternoon they saw thirty-eight icebergs, large and small. This immense field was composed of different kinds of ice, such as field ice, so called by the Greenland men, and packed ice. They saw several whales playing about and large petrels. The latitude was

now 67° 15' S., and not thinking it prudent to persevere in a southerly direction, Captain Cook resolved to go directly in search of the land lately discovered by the French.

On the 29th several porpoises passed with amazing swiftness; they had a large white spot on their sides, which came almost up to their backs.

On the 31st they passed a large iceberg, which at the time of their sailing by was tumbling to pieces with a loud report like that of a cannon.

On the 4th of February there was a dense fog, and they lost sight of the *Adventure*. They fired several signals, but were not answered, and they feared that a separation had taken place, though they could not well tell what had been the cause of it. Captain Cook had directed Captain Furneaux, in case of parting company, to cruise three days in the place he last saw the *Resolution*. Accordingly he made short boards, or tacks, and fired half-hour guns till the afternoon of the 7th, when the weather cleared up, but the *Adventure* was not to be seen in the limits of their horizon. They lay to till the 10th, firing guns and burning false fires at night, but neither saw nor heard anything of the *Adventure*. The crew universally regretted the loss of the *Adventure*, and constantly scanned the horizon with expressions of concern that they were alone on this unexplored expanse.

On the 17th of March Captain Cook came to a resolution, to quit the high southern latitudes and to proceed to New Zealand, to look for the *Adventure* and to refresh his people. As the wind, which continued between the N. and W., would not permit them to touch at Van Diemen's Land, they shaped their course to New Zealand; and being under no apprehension of meeting with any danger, the captain was not backward in carrying sail. For the last three days the mercury in the thermometer had risen to forty-six, and the weather was quite mild. Seven or eight degrees of latitude had made a surprising difference in the temperature of the air, which they hailed with satisfaction.

On the 26th they entered Dusky Bay, in New Zealand, but with much caution, as they were all ignorant of its sound-

ings, Captain Cook in his former voyage having only discovered and named it. After running about two leagues up the bay, and passing several of the isles which lay in it, they brought to and hoisted out two boats, one of which was sent away with an officer round a point on the port side to look for anchorage. This he found, and signified the same by signal. They then followed with the ship, and anchored in fifty fathoms of water, so near the shore as to reach it with a hawser. All hands were delighted to be at rest once more, after having been 117 days at sea, and having sailed 3,660 leagues, without so much as once seeing land.

Notwithstanding their long continuance at sea in a high southern latitude, only one man on board was very ill with scurvy, and his illness was principally aggravated by a bad habit of body and a complication of other disorders.

The country appeared beautiful and pleasing. The islands at the entrance of Dusky Bay were shaded with evergreens and covered with woods, and exhibited a delightful prospect. The rocky shores were enlivened with flocks of aquatic birds, and the whole country resounded with the wild notes of the feathered songsters. They caught great numbers of fish, which eagerly took the bait, and their first meal upon fish seemed the most delightful they ever made. Their situation was admirable for obtaining food and water. The ship's yards were locked in the branches of trees, and near their stern ran a delightful stream of fresh water. They now made preparations on shore to set up the astronomer's observatory and the forge, for making all necessary observations and repairing the ship. The live cattle remaining on board, consisting of a few sheep and goats, would not taste the grass which grew on the shore, and upon examination being made of these poor creatures, it appeared that their teeth were loose, and that they had other symptoms of an inveterate scurvy.

On the 28th some of the officers went on a shooting expedition in a small boat, and discovering some of the inhabitants, returned to acquaint Captain Cook with the circumstance. Shortly after, a canoe filled with natives came within musket-shot of the ship. They remained for a short time, and then

returned, though every endeavour was used to induce them to approach nearer. Captain Cook, with several officers and gentlemen, went in search of them the same day. They found the canoe hauled up on the shore, where were several huts, with fireplaces and fishing-nets, but the people had probably entered into the woods. After making a short stay, they left in the canoe some medals, looking-glasses, and other articles.

On the 1st of April they sent to see if the things left in the canoe remained there, and they found them untouched. On the following day they went ashore and took with them a black dog they had brought from the Cape, who ran into the woods at the first musket they fired, and would not return.

On the 6th a shooting-party went out and found a capacious cove, where they shot several ducks, on which account they called it Duck Cove. They had an interview with one man and two women. The former stood upon the point of a rock, with a club in his hand, and the women were behind him with spears. As they approached, the man showed great signs of fear, but stood firm, nor would he move to take up some things that were thrown to him. His fears were all dissipated by Captain Cook going up to embrace him; and the captain gave him such things as he had about him. The officers and seamen followed the captain, and talked some time with them, though they could not understand each other. The youngest of the women bore the greatest share in the conversation.

On the following day they paid these natives another visit, and presented them with several things; but they beheld everything with indifference, except hatchets and spike-nails. They now saw all the man's family, as they supposed, which consisted of his two wives, the young woman mentioned before, a boy about fourteen years old, and three small children. The Englishmen were conducted to their habitations, which consisted of two mean huts, situated near the skirts of a wood. Their canoe lay in a small creek near the huts, and was just large enough to transport the whole family

from place to place. A gentleman of the party made sketches of them. On taking leave, the man presented Captain Cook with some trifles and a piece of cloth of their own manufacture, and pointed to a boat cloak, which he wished to have. The hint was taken, and one was ordered to be made for him of red baize.

On the 9th they paid another visit to the natives, who had their hair combed and oiled, stuck with white feathers, and tied upon the crowns of their heads, and bunches of feathers stuck in their ears. They were received with great courtesy, and the man was so well pleased with the present of the cloak, that he took his patoo-patoo from his side, and gave it to Captain Cook.

On Monday, the 12th, this family paid them a visit in their canoe, but proceeded with caution as they approached the ship. They could not be persuaded to come on board, but put ashore in a little creek near them, and sat themselves down. Captain Cook ordered the bagpipes to play and the drum to beat, the latter of which interested them.

In the evening, the man and his daughter before mentioned ventured on board the ship, while the rest of the family were fishing in a canoe. Before the man would come into the ship, he struck the side of it with a green branch and muttered some words of a prayer; after which he threw away the branch and came on board. They viewed every part of the cabin with apparent curiosity and surprise, but it was not possible to fix their attention to any one thing for a moment. All that was shown them seemed beyond their comprehension, and the works of nature and art were alike disregarded. The man appeared better pleased with hatchets and spike-nails than anything the ship produced, and when he had once got possession of these he would not quit them. Captain Cook and three other gentlemen left the ship as soon as they could disengage themselves from the visitors, whom they left in the gun-room, and went out in two boats to examine the head of the bay, at which place they took up their night's lodging. The next day they continued their observations, and fired at some ducks. Upon the report of

the gun, the natives, who had not discovered themselves before, set up a most hideous noise in different places. The gentlemen hallooed in their turn, and retreated to the boats. The natives did not follow them, but still made a great noise. As the Englishmen continued shooting and making their observations, they frequently heard the natives in the woods. A man and woman appeared at last on the banks of the river, waving something in their hands as a token of friendship. The gentlemen could not get near them, and the natives retreated into the woods. Two others appeared; but as the gentlemen advanced they retreated, and the woods afforded them thick cover. The captain and his party passed the next night in the same place, and after breakfast embarked to return on board; but seeing two men on the opposite shore, who hallooed to them, they were induced to row over to them. Captain Cook, with two other gentlemen, landed unarmed, but the natives retreated, nor would they stand still till Captain Cook went up alone. It was with some difficulty that he prevailed on one of them to lay down his spear; at last he did so, and met the captain with a grass plant in his hand, giving him one end to hold while he himself held the other. In this position they stood while the natives made a speech, which the captain did not understand, but returned some sort of answer; they then saluted each other, and the native took his coat from his back, and put it on the captain; the captain presented each of them with a hatchet and a knife, having nothing else with him. They invited the gentlemen to their habitation, and wanted them to eat, but the tide prevented their accepting this invitation. More people appeared in the skirts of the woods, but did not approach any nearer. The two natives accompanied the gentlemen to their boats, but seemed very much agitated at the appearance of the muskets, which they looked upon as instruments of death, on account of the slaughter they had observed among the fowls. It was necessary to watch them, for they laid their hands on everything, except the muskets. They assisted the seamen in launching the boat. It did not appear that they had any boats or canoes with



them, but used two or three logs of wood tied together, which answered the same purposes ; for the navigation of the river, on the banks of which they lived, was not very difficult, and swarmed with fish and fowls. Several parties were made in order to catch seals, which were very useful for food and oil, and their skins were cured for the rigging.

On Saturday, the 24th, Captain Cook took five geese and a gander, which were all that remained of those brought from the Cape of Good Hope, and carried them to a cove, which on this account he called Goose Cove ; this was a convenient place for them to breed, as they were not likely to be disturbed by the inhabitants, and there was also plenty of food.

There are two entrances to Dusky Bay, and also numerous anchoring-places, which are at once safe and commodious. At Cascade Cove, so called on account of the magnificent cascade near it, there is room for a fleet of ships, and a very good passage in and out. The country is very mountainous, and the prospect rude and craggy. The land bordering on the seacoast, and all the neighbourhood, is covered with wood.

On Tuesday, the 11th of May, the ship again made sail. They observed on a sudden a whitish spot on the sea, out of which a column arose which looked like a glass tube. It appeared that another of the same sort came down from the clouds to meet this, and they made a coalition and formed what is called a waterspout ; several others were formed in the same manner soon after. They were able to examine one within 200 fathoms of them. They first saw a portion of the sea in violent agitation ; the water ascended in a spiral form towards the clouds, which looked black and lowering, and some hailstones fell on board. A cloud gradually tapered into a long slender tube directly over the agitated spot, and seemed descending to meet the rising spiral, and soon united with it. When the waterspouts broke, no explosion was heard, but a flash of lightning was seen. The oldest mariners on board had never been so near a waterspout before, and were

therefore very much alarmed. From the first appearance to the last disjunction, was three-quarters of an hour.

At five o'clock in the morning, on the 18th of May, they opened Queen Charlotte's Sound and saw three flashes arising from a stronghold of the natives. Imagining them to be signals of the Europeans, and probably of the *Adventure*, they fired some guns and were answered, and in a short time saw the *Adventure* at anchor. They were saluted by Captain Furneaux with thirteen guns, which was joyfully returned ; the happiness at this welcome meeting was indescribable.

Captain Furneaux gave the following account of his proceedings during their separation. On Sunday, the 4th of February, having lost sight of the *Resolution* in a thick fog, they continued to cruise in the place where they parted company. Soon after their separation they heard the report of a gun, which they judged to be on the larboard beam ; upon which they hauled to the S E., and fired a 4-pounder every half-hour, but receiving no return, they kept the course they had steered before the fog came on. In the evening it began to blow hard, and the sea broke over the ship's bows to the height of the yard-arms, though at intervals the weather was more clear. They stood to the westward, to cruise in the latitude where they last saw the *Resolution*, according to agreement, in case of separation ; but the storm returned with renewed fury, and the weather being again exceedingly hazy, they were compelled to bring to, which untoward circumstance prevented them from reaching the intended place. However, they cruised as near the spot as they could for three days, when, after beating about the seas in the most terrible weather, they gave up all hopes of joining their lost companions, and bore away for winter quarters 1,400 leagues from them ; having to traverse a sea entirely unknown, they reduced the allowance of water to one quart a day for each seaman.

On Monday, the 1st of March, it was determined to bear away for Van Diemen's Land, there to take in water and repair their shattered rigging.

On Thursday, the 11th, they found a most commodious harbour, and anchored in seven fathoms of water, about one mile from the shore on each side. During their stay here they did not see any of the natives, but perceived the smoke of their fires eight or ten miles to the northward.

Having taken on board wood and water, they set sail, intending to explore the coast, with a view of discovering whether Van Diemen's Land is a part of New Holland.

On the 24th, having left Van Diemen's Land, they had very severe squall, and shipped many waves, one of which stove the large cutter, and with much difficulty the small one was prevented from being washed overboard. After this heavy gale, which continued twelve hours, they had more temperate weather, accompanied with calms. At length they made the coast of New Zealand, having run twenty-four degrees of longitude in fifteen days.

On the 9th of April three canoes came alongside the *Adventure*, having fifteen Indians of both sexes, all armed with battle-axes, and with other offensive weapons made of hard wood, about four feet in length; but they had neither bows nor arrows. A kind of net was wrapped round their shoulders, and tied about their waists, with a girdle made of grass. Both men and women exhibited a savage appearance, and were very unwilling to venture on board. The captain made them presents, and by signs invited them to trade. They accepted the presents, and some of them gained courage enough to trust themselves on deck. In this visit they mentioned the name of Tupia, and upon being informed he died at Batavia, some of them with much concern inquired if he was killed, or died a natural death.

On Tuesday, the 11th of May, several of the crew who were at work on shore very sensibly felt the shock of an earthquake. On the following day, the weather continuing fair and the Indians friendly, the captain and officers were preparing to go ashore, when not less than ten canoes came paddling down the sound. They counted 130 natives, all armed. When alongside of the ship, they expressed a desire to be admitted on board, but Captain Furneaux not liking their looks

and gestures, gave orders that a few only should be admitted at a time. These behaved so disorderly that the sailors were obliged to turn them out, and it now appeared plainly that their intentions were to make themselves masters of the ship. However, finding the crew to be upon their guard, they became more civil, but not before a great gun was discharged over their heads, which intimidated them. Being thus reduced to order, the people on board produced several articles, such as beads, small clasp-knives, scissors, cloth, paper, and other trifles, which they bartered for battle-axes, spears, weapons of various sorts, fish-hooks, and other curiosities, the manufacture of the country. Being visibly disappointed in the execution of their grand design, they took to their canoes; but, previous to their departure, the captain and officers made presents to those among them who appeared to be their chiefs, which they accepted with great apparent satisfaction.

On the 17th they had the pleasure of seeing the *Resolution* off the mouth of the Sound. Such is Captain Furneaux's report of his proceedings after parting with the *Resolution*.

The effects of the boisterous weather which they had experienced in the course of the last few months were felt by the crew of the *Resolution*, and it is astonishing that they should have continued in perfect health, scarce<sup>d</sup>, a man being so ill as to be incapable of duty. Nothing can redound more to the honour of Captain Cook than his paying particular attention to the preservation of health among his ship's company. By observing the strictest discipline from the highest to the lowest, his commands were duly observed and punctually executed. When the service was hard, he tempered the severity by frequent reliefs, while in fine or settled weather he never suffered any of his men to be idle, but constantly employed the armourers, carpenters, and seamen in doing something, each in his own way, which, though not immediately wanted, he knew might be required before the voyage was completed.

The morning after their arrival, being Wednesday, the 19th, Captain Cook went off at daybreak to gather scurvy grass,

celery, and other vegetables. At breakfast time he returned with a boatload, enough for the crews of both ships, and knowing their salutary efficacy in removing scorbutic complaints, he ordered that they should be boiled with wheat and portable broth every morning for breakfast, and with peas and broth for dinner. Captain Furneaux had planted a great quantity of garden seeds, which grew very well, and produced plenty of salad and European greens.

Captain Cook sent on shore to the watering-place, near the *Adventure's* tent, the only ewe and ram remaining of those they brought from the Cape of Good Hope. On the 21st they went over to Long Island, where they sowed different kinds of garden seeds, upon spots which were cleared for that purpose. On Saturday, the 22nd, they found the ewe and ram dead, supposed to have been occasioned by their eating some poisonous plants. About noon they were visited by two small canoes, in which were five men, who dined with them.

On Monday, the 24th, Captain Cook, accompanied by Captain Furneaux and Mr. Foster, set off in a boat to the west bay on a shooting excursion. They met a large canoe, in which were fourteen or fifteen people, and the first question asked was concerning the welfare of Tupia. Being told he was dead, they expressed some concern.

On Saturday, the 29th, a great number of natives surrounded the ship with canoes, and a brisk business was done, the sailors being eager to acquire some of the productions of the country.

One of the Indians Captain Cook took to Mortuara, and showed him some potatoes in a thriving condition, which were planted by Mr. Fannen, master of the *Adventure*. The man was so well pleased with them, that of his own accord he began to hoe up the earth round the plants. He was then conducted to other plantations of turnips, carrots, and parsnips, of which it was easy to give them an idea, by comparing them with such roots as they were well acquainted with.

On Friday, the 4th of June, being his Majesty's birthday,

they hoisted their colours, and prepared to celebrate the day with the usual festivities. Early in the morning their friends brought them a large supply of fish. One of them promised to accompany the ship on their voyage, but afterwards altered his mind, as did also some others who had made a like promise to the captain of the *Adventure*. It was very common for these people to bring their children with them, not with the unnatural intention of selling them, as was reported, but in expectation that they would make them presents. This day a large double canoe, containing about thirty men, came within musket-shot. Among these new visitors, one stood at the head of the canoe and another at the stern, while the rest kept their seats; the former held a green bough in his hand and spoke a few words, and the other made a long harangue in solemn and well-articulated sounds. Being invited aboard, he at last ventured, and was followed soon by the rest, who eagerly traded with the crew. They saluted the natives already on board by rubbing noses, and paid the same compliment to the gentlemen on the quarter-deck. These people were taller than any hitherto seen in New Zealand, and their dress and ornaments bespoke them superior to the inhabitants of Queen Charlotte's Sound. Their tools were made with great attention and were elegantly carved; a few of these were obtained, and also some musical instruments. They made but a short stay, and embarking, all went over to Mortuara, where, by the help of glasses, four or five canoes were discovered, and several people on the shore. About noon, Captain Cook, accompanied by several other gentlemen, followed them, and was received with every mark of friendship. The captain distributed several presents, among which were a number of brass medals, inscribed with the king's title on one side and the ship which undertook this voyage on the other. Captain Cook conducted Teiratu, the chief, to the garden he had planted, and obtained a promise from him that he would not suffer it to be destroyed.

Early on the morning of the 7th of June the ships sailed from this place, but met with contrary winds. Captain Cook

having heard that the crew of the *Adventure* were sickly, went on board on the 29th of July, when he found the cook dead, and twenty men ill with the scurvy and flux. Only three men were on the sick list on board the *Resolution*, which was certainly owing to the captain's absolutely enforcing the eating of celery and scurvy grass with the food, though at first the crew did not like it.

All hopes of discovering a continent now vanished, as they had got to the northward of Captain Carteret's tracks, and they only expected to see islands till their return to the south.

On the 6th of August Captain Furneaux came on board the *Resolution* to dinner, and reported that his people were much better ; that the flux had quite left them, and that the scurvy was at a stand.

On the 18th they were within a league of Otaheite. On account of the breeze failing, they hoisted out the boats to tow the ships. Many inhabitants came on board from different parts, bringing fruits to exchange. Most of them knew Captain Cook again, and inquired for Mr. Banks and others ; but none of them asked for Tupia. Their situation now became very dangerous from a coral reef. On sending to examine the western point of the reef, in order to get round that way into the bay, they found that there was not sufficient depth of water. Both ships were carried with great impetuosity towards the reef, and the breakers were not two cables' length distant, and no bottom to anchor. The *Resolution* came to three fathoms water, and struck at every fall of the sea, but the *Adventure* brought up without striking.

At length they found ground, and now got the ship afloat by cutting away the bower anchor. They first towed off the *Resolution*, and then all the boats were ordered to assist the *Adventure*, and they happily got once more safe to sea, after narrowly escaping shipwreck. A number of the natives were on board the ships while in this perilous situation, but were totally insensible of any danger, even while the ships were striking. They anchored in Oati-piha Bay, very near the shore, and were visited by a great number of the natives. Presents were made to their chiefs, of shirts, axes, and other

articles, in return for which they promised hogs and fowls. In the afternoon Captains Cook and Furneaux landed to sound the disposition of the natives and to view the watering-place. The natives behaved with great civility, and they found a very convenient supply of water.

A man who pretended to be a chief came on board with several of his friends, to whom presents were made, but he was detected in handing several things over the quarter gallery ; and as complaints of the same nature were alleged against those on the deck, Captain Cook turned them all out of the ship, and was so exasperated at the conduct of the pretended chief, that he fired two muskets over his head, which terrified him so much that he jumped into the water. On sending a boat to take up the canoe, the people from the shore pelted the seamen with stones. The captain went himself in another boat to protect her, and also ordered a cannon loaded with round shot to be fired along the coast, which so greatly terrified them that he brought away the canoes without any further opposition. However, they soon became friends again, and the canoes were returned. Two or three natives began to inquire after Tupia, but they were soon satisfied when they heard the cause of his death. Several people also asked for Mr. Banks and others who were at Otaheite with Captain Cook before. It appeared that there had been a battle lately fought between the two kingdoms ; that Tootahah, the regent of the greater peninsula, was slain, and that Otoo reigned in his stead. In this battle Tubourai Tamaide and several of their old friends fell. A peace was now fully established.

On the 19th the two commanders made an excursion along the coast, and were entertained by a chief with some excellent fish, to whom, in return, they made several presents. On the following day one of the natives stole a gun from the people on shore, upon which some of his countrymen pursued him of their own accord, knocked him down, and brought back the musket. On the 21st a chief paid them a visit, and brought a present of fruit, which proved to be some cocoa-nuts that had been thrown overboard. He did not



betray the least emotion when they told him of it, and opened two or three of them himself, as if he knew nothing of the matter; he then pretended to be satisfied that it was really so, and went on shore, from whence he sent some bananas and plantains. They were informed that Waheato was come into the neighbourhood, and wished to see Captain Cook, who accordingly went in company with Captain Furneaux and some gentlemen, many natives likewise accompanying them. About a mile from the landing-place they met the chief advancing towards them with a numerous train. He knew Captain Cook very well, as they had seen each other several times in 1769, when he went by the name of Terace. As soon as the usual salutation was over, he seated Captain Cook on a stool with himself, the rest seating themselves on the ground. He inquired after several who had been on the former voyage, and seemed sorry when told that they must sail on the next day, assuring the captain, if he would stay, that he should have hogs in plenty. Captain Cook made him many presents, and remained with him the whole morning. The party returned on board ship to dinner, and made this chief another visit in the afternoon, when more presents were exchanged.

Early on the morning of the 24th the ships put to sea, and were accompanied by several canoes, who brought cargoes of fruit for sale, which were readily disposed of. The sick people on board the *Adventure* got much relief from these fruits. A lieutenant was left on shore, in order to bring some hogs, which they promised to send by him. He returned on the 25th, and brought eight pigs with him. They arrived at Matavia Bay in the evening of the 25th, and before they could anchor, their decks were crowded with natives, almost all of whom were acquainted with Captain Cook, Otoo their king, and a great crowd, being assembled on the shore. Captain Cook had intended to pay him a visit, but was told that he was gone to Oparee in a fright, which surprised the captain, as all others were much pleased to see him. Maritata, a chief, was on board, and advised the captain to defer his visit till the next morning. Accordingly, on the 26th, Captain

Cook, accompanied by Captain Furneaux, Maritata, his wife, and some others, set out for Oparee, after having given directions to fetch tents for the reception of the sick. On landing they were conducted to Otoo, who sat on the ground under a shady tree, with a great number of people round him. After the usual compliments had passed, Captain Cook made him several presents, being persuaded that it was much to his interest to be on good terms with this chief, and presents were also made to his attendants. They offered cloth in return, which was refused, and they were told that the presents were given purely out of friendship.

Otoo inquired for all the gentlemen who had been there before, as well as for Tupia, and promised to send some hogs on board, but was very backward in offering to come on board himself, being, as he said, much afraid of the great guns. He was certainly a most timid prince, as all his actions demonstrated. He was a well-made man, six feet high, and about thirty years of age. His father and all his subjects were uncovered before him; that is, their heads and shoulders were made bare.

On the 27th, King Otoo, attended by a numerous train, returned the visit. He sent before him two large fish, a hog, some fruits, and a large quantity of cloth. After much persuasion he came on board himself, accompanied by his sisters, a younger brother, and many attendants; and after breakfasting, they were carried home by their attendants. Upon landing, an old lady, the mother of Tootahah, met Captain Cook, seized him by both hands, and weeping bitterly, told him that her son and his friend, Tootahah, was dead. Had not they taken her from Captain Cook, he must have joined her lamentations. It was with a good deal of difficulty that the captain prevailed on the king to let him see her again, when he made her some presents. Captain Furneaux gave the king a male and a female goat. A lieutenant was sent to Attahouru, on the 28th, to purchase hogs. The king, with his sister and some attendants, paid them another visit soon after sunrise, and brought with them a hog, some fruit, and some more cloth. They likewise went

on board the *Adventure*, and made Captain Furneaux the same presents; soon after they returned, bringing Captain Furneaux with them. Captain Cook made them a good return for the presents they brought, and dressed out the king's sister to the greatest advantage. The king was carried again to Oparee, and on leaving the ship was entertained with bagpipes and the seamen dancing. Some of his people danced also, in imitation of the seamen, and performed their parts tolerably well. Tootahah's mother again presented herself to Captain Cook, but could not look upon him without shedding many tears.

On the 29th the commanders took a trip to Oparee, attended by some officers and gentlemen, and made the king such presents as he had not before seen. One of them was a broadsword, at the sight of which he was very much intimidated, and desired it might be taken out of his sight. With a vast deal of argument he was prevailed upon to suffer it to be put on his side, where it remained a very short time. They received an invitation to the theatre, where they were entertained with a dramatic piece, consisting of a comedy and dance. They could not make out the subjects, though they heard frequent mention of Captain Cook's name in the dialogue. The performers were one woman, being no less a personage than the king's sister, and five men, and their music consisted of only three drums. The whole entertainment was well conducted, and lasted about two hours. When this diversion was over the king desired them to depart, and loaded them with fruit and fish.

In the evening of the 30th they were alarmed with the cry of murder on the shore. Captain Cook suspected it was occasioned by some of his own people, and sent on shore an armed boat's crew, who soon returned with a seaman and three marines; others, who belonged to the *Adventure*, were also taken, and put in close confinement till the morning, when they were severely punished. The people would confess nothing, and it did not appear that any material injury had been done. The alarm, however, was so great that the natives fled from their habitations in the night, and the

inhabitants of the whole coast were terrified. The king himself fled from his abode, and when Captain Cook saw him he complained of the disturbance. As this was his last visit, Captain Cook presented the king with three Cape sheep, with which he was well pleased, though they were all wethers ; and in return he presented the captain with three hogs. The king seemed much affected when Captain Cook told him he should leave the island on the following day, and embraced him several times.

On the 1st of September, Pottatou (the chief of the district of Attahounou) came with his wife to pay Captain Cook a visit, and made him a present of two hogs and some fish. As the wind was westerly, they were obliged to dismiss their friends sooner than they wished ; but they were well satisfied with the reception they met with. A young man named Poreo, came on board some hours before they got under weigh, and desired to go with them, to which they consented ; at his request an axe and a spike-nail were presented to his father, who came on board with him, but as they parted with great indifference it was suspected that no such relationship existed. Presently, a canoe conducted by two men came alongside and demanded Poreo in the name of Otoo. The artifice was now manifest, and they were required first to return the hatchet and spike-nail, but as these were ashore, he was carried away shedding tears, as he saw the land disappear.

On the 2nd they steered for the island of Huaheine, and on the following day the *Resolution* anchored in twenty-four fathoms of water. The *Adventure* ran ashore on the north side of the channel, but was got off again without receiving any damage. The natives received them with the utmost cordiality, and several came on board. Some presents were distributed among them, which were returned by a plentiful supply of hogs and fruit. Captain Cook was informed that Oree was still alive, and was anxious to see him. The commanders, with Mr. Foster, went to the place appointed for the interview, accompanied by one of the natives ; the boat was landed before the chief's house, and they were desired to remain in it till

the necessary ceremony was gone through. There stood, close to the shore, five young plantain trees, their emblems of peace; these were, with some ceremony, brought on board separately. The first three were each accompanied by a young pig, whose ears were ornamented with cocoa-nut fibres; the fourth plantain tree was accompanied by a dog: all these had particular names and meanings. The chief had carefully preserved, and now sent on board, a piece of pewter, with an inscription on it, which Captain Cook had presented to him in 1769, together with a piece of counterfeit English coin, which, with a few beads, were all in the same bag the captain made for them. This part of the ceremony being over, the gentlemen were desired to decorate three young plantain trees with nails, looking-glasses, beads, and medals. With these in their hands they landed, and the plantains were laid, one by one, before him. They were told that one was for God, another for the king, and the third for friendship. This being done, the king came to Captain Cook, fell on his neck, and kissed him, tears rolling down the cheeks of the old man. Captain Cook regarded him as a father, and therefore presented him with the most valuable articles he had, presents being also given to his attendants and friends. The king gave the captain a hog and a quantity of cloth, with the promise that all his wants should be supplied. Soon after they returned on board fourteen hogs were sent, with fowls and fruit in abundance. In the morning of the 5th they were visited by this old man, who brought a hog, and some fruit and roots in great plenty. This morning Lieutenant Pickersgill went on shore in search of more hogs, and returned in the evening with twenty-eight, and about seventy more were purchased on shore.

On the 6th of September the trading party, consisting of three people, went on shore, as usual. Captain Cook also landed after breakfast, and learnt that one of the natives had been very insolent and troublesome. This man was shown to the captain, equipped in his war habit, and with a club in each hand. The captain took these from him, as

he saw that he was bent on mischief; broke them before his face, and obliged him to retire. The captain, being informed that this man was a chief, became a little suspicious of him, and sent for a guard. About this time a gentleman, who had gone out botanising alone, was assaulted by two men, who stripped him of everything but his trousers; luckily they did him no harm, though they struck him several times with his own hanger, or short sword. They then made off, and a native brought a bit of cloth to cover him. This gentleman presently appeared at the trading-place, where a number of the natives were assembled, who all fled on seeing him. Captain Cook persuaded some of them to return, assuring them that none should suffer who were innocent. When the king heard his complaint he and his companions wept bitterly; and as soon as his grief was assuaged he made a long harangue to the people, telling them the baseness of such actions, when the captain and his crew had always behaved so well to them. He then took a particular account of the things the gentleman had lost, and promised that they should be returned, if it was in his power to find them. After this he desired Captain Cook to follow him to the boat, but the people, being apprehensive for his safety, used every argument, with tears, to dissuade him from it. Oree was deaf to them all, and insisted on going with the captain; when they were both in the boat he desired it might be put off. The only person who did not oppose his going was his sister, and she showed a magnanimity of spirit equal to her brother. They proceeded in search of the robbers, as far as was convenient by water, and then landed. The chief led the way, travelled several miles, and was with great difficulty dissuaded from proceeding farther by Captain Cook. On returning to the boat they were met by the king's sister, who had travelled overland to that place, accompanied by several other persons. They returned to the ship, and the king made a very hearty dinner, though his sister, according to custom, ate nothing. The captain made them suitable presents, for their confidence, and set them ashore amidst the acclamations of

multitudes. Peace was now perfectly re-established ; provisions poured in from all quarters ; the gentleman's hanger and coat were returned, and thus ended these troublesome transactions.

On the 7th, while the ships were unmooring, Captain Cook went to take leave of Oree, and presented him with some valuable and useful articles. He left with him a copper plate, with this inscription :—" Anchored here, His Britannic Majesty's ships *Resolution* and *Adventure*, September, 1773." After they had traded for such things as they wanted they took their leave. On returning to the ships they were surrounded by canoes filled with hogs, fowls, and fruit. The good old king stayed with them till they were nearly two miles out at sea, and then bade them farewell, after taking an affectionate leave. During their stay here they procured upwards of 300 hogs, besides fowls and fruit in abundance.

At this island Captain Furneaux engaged a young man, named Omai, a native of Ulietea, who had been dispossessed of his property by the people of Bolabola, to accompany him on his voyage. On his arrival in England he was presented to the king by the First Lord of the Admiralty, and his history is connected with the future proceedings of the voyagers. This young man was well-conducted, and appeared to possess a good understanding and honest principles.

On the 8th of September they anchored at Ulietea, and a trade soon commenced with the natives. Next morning they paid a formal visit to Oreo, the chief of this part of the isle, carrying with them the necessary presents. He was seated in his own house, which stood near the water-side, where he and his friends received them with great cordiality.

He expressed much satisfaction at seeing Captain Cook again, and desired that they might exchange names, which he accordingly agreed to. This is the strongest mark of friendship these people can show to a stranger. After they had made the chief and his friends the necessary

presents they went on board, with a hog and some fruit, received from him in return.

After breakfast on the 10th, Captain Cook and Captain Furneaux paid the chief a visit, and were entertained by the performance of a comedy. The music consisted of three drums; the actors were seven men and one woman—the chief's daughter. The only entertaining part of the drama was a theft, committed by a man and his accomplice in such a masterly manner as sufficiently displayed the genius of the people in this vice. Captain Cook says, "I was very attentive to the whole of this part, being in full expectation that it would have ended very differently; for I had before been informed that Teto (that is, the thief) was to be acted, and had understood that the theft was to be punished with death, or a good tipparrahying (or beating), a punishment, we are told, they inflict on such as are guilty of this crime. Be this as it may, strangers are certainly excluded from the protection of this law; then they rob with impunity, on every occasion that offers."

On the 16th Captain Cook was told that his Otaheitean young man, Poreo, had taken a resolution to leave him, and was actually gone; having met with a young woman for whom he had contracted a friendship, he went away with her, and they saw him no more.

Having now secured a large supply of provisions, the captain determined to put to sea on the following morning, and informed the chief, who promised to see him again before he departed. As soon as it was light, Oreo, with his son and some of his friends, came on board. Many canoes also came off with fruit and hogs, the latter they even begged of them to take from them, calling out, "I am your friend; take my hog and give me an axe." But the decks were already so full of them that they could hardly move, having between 300 and 400 on board both ships.

The chief and his friends did not leave them till they were under sail, and pressed them much to return soon. Many young men of this island voluntarily offered to accompany Captain Cook, who consented to take with him one about



seventeen or eighteen years old, named Oedidee, a native of Bolabola, and a near relation of Opoony, chief of that island.

The island of Otaheite, which, in the years 1767 and 1768, swarmed with hogs and fowls, was now so ill-supplied with these animals, that hardly anything could induce the owners to part with them.

As Captain Cook had some reason to believe that amongst the religious customs of these people human sacrifices were sometimes considered as necessary, he went one day to a morai in Matavia, in company with Captain Furneaux, having with them, as they had upon all other occasions, one of their own men, who spoke their language tolerably well, and several of the natives, one of whom appeared to be an intelligent sensible man. In the morai was a tupapow, on which lay a corpse and some viands.

Omai subsequently informed him that they offer human sacrifices to the Supreme Being. According to his account, the men are selected for sacrifice according to the caprice of the high priest, who, when they are assembled on any solemn occasion, retires alone into the house of their god, and stays there some time. When he comes out, he informs them that he has seen and conversed with their great god, and that he asked for a human sacrifice, and tells them that he has desired such a person, naming a man present, who most probably the priest has an antipathy against. He is immediately killed, and so falls a victim to the priest's resentment, who, no doubt, if necessary, has address enough to persuade the people that he was a bad man.

After leaving Ulietea on the 17th of September, 1773, they steered to the west, and, on the 1st of October, saw the island of Middleburgh. As they approached the shore, the canoes came boldly alongside, and some of the natives entered the ship without hesitation. This mark of confidence gave Captain Cook a good opinion of these islanders, and determined him to visit them if possible. They found good anchorage, and came-to in twenty-five fathoms of water. They had scarcely anchored, before they were surrounded by a great number of canoes full of people, who

began to traffic. Among them was a chief, named Tioony, to whom the captain made a present of a hatchet, spike-nail, and several other articles, with which he was highly pleased.

Soon after a party of Englishmen embarked in two boats, in company with Tioony, who conducted them to a little creek formed by the rocks, right abreast of the ships, where landing was extremely easy, and the boat secure against the surf. Here they found an immense crowd of people, who welcomed them on shore with loud acclamations. Not one of them had so much as a stick or any other weapon in his hand, an indubitable sign of their pacific intentions; they thronged so thick round the boats with cloth and matting, to exchange for nails, that it was some time before they could find room to land. Many who could not get near the boats, threw into them, over the others' heads, whole bales of cloth, and then retired, without either asking or waiting to get anything in return. The chief conducted them to his house, about three hundred yards from the sea, at the head of a fine lawn, and under the shade of some shaddock trees. The situation was most delightful. In front was the sea, and the ships at anchor; in the rear, and on each side, were plantations in which were some of the richest productions of nature; the floor was laid with mats, to which they were conducted, and the people seated themselves in a circle round them on the outside. Having brought the bagpipes, Captain Cook ordered them to be played, and in return the chief directed three young women to sing a song, which they did with a very good grace; and having made each of them a present, this immediately set all the women in the circle singing. Their songs were musical and harmonious. Bananas and cocoa-nuts were set before the Englishmen, and a bowl of liquor, prepared in their presence, of the juice of eava, for them to drink. But Captain Cook was the only one who tasted it, the manner of brewing it having quenched the thirst of everyone else. The bowl was, however, soon emptied of its contents by the natives.

They returned on board to dinner, accompanied by the

chief. He sat at a table, but ate nothing, though one of the dishes was roasted pork. Near some of the houses, and in the lanes that divided the plantations, were running about some hogs and very large fowls, which were the only domestic animals they saw ; and as they did not seem willing to part with them, Captain Cook determined to leave the place.

In the evening they returned on board, highly delighted with the country and the very obliging behaviour of the inhabitants, who seemed to vie with each other in doing what they thought would give pleasure. After making the chief a present, consisting of various articles and an assortment of garden seeds, Captain Cook gave him to understand that they were going away, at which he seemed unconcerned. As soon as the captain was on board, they made sail down to Amsterdam. On opening the west side of the isle, they were met by several canoes, each containing three or four men. They came boldly alongside, presented the sailors with some eava root, and then came on board without further ceremony, inviting them by all the friendly signs they could make, to go to their island, pointing to the place where they should anchor.

Having secured the ships, Captain Cook, accompanied by Captain Furneaux, Mr. Foster, and several of the officers, landed, together with a chief named Attago, a person of some note, who had attached himself to Captain Cook the instant he came on board.

After walking a little way into the country, they returned to the landing-place, and there found Mr. Wales in a laughable though unpleasant predicament. The boats which brought them on shore not being able to get near the landing-place for want of a sufficient depth of water, he pulled off his shoes and stockings to walk through, and as soon as he got on dry land he placed them at his feet to put on again ; but they were instantly snatched away by a person behind him, who immediately mixed with the crowd. It was impossible for him to follow the man bare-footed over the sharp coral rocks which cover the shore, without having his feet cut to pieces. The boat had put back to the ship,

and his companions having made their way through the crowd, he had been left alone in this condition. The chief soon found out the thief, and recovered his shoes and stockings, and of his own accord conducted his visitors to a plantation hard by, and showed them a pool of fresh water.

Mr. Foster and his party spent the day in the country botanising, and several of the officers went out shooting. All of them were very civilly treated by the natives. A boat from each ship was employed trading on shore, and bringing off their cargoes as soon as they were laden, which was generally in a short time. By this method they got at a cheaper rate and with less trouble a good quantity of fruit, as well as other provisions, from people who had no canoes to carry them off to the ships.

Though the natives began to show a propensity for pilfering, the different trading parties were so successful as to procure for both ships a tolerably good supply of provisions. Captain Cook now gave every one leave to purchase what curiosities they pleased, and their eagerness was so great as to excite the ridicule of the natives, who offered pieces of sticks and stones to exchange.

One of the natives, having got into the master's cabin, took out some books and other things. He was discovered just as he was getting into his canoe, and pursued by one of their boats, which obliged him to quit the canoe and take to the water. The people in the boat made several attempts to lay hold of him, but he as often dived under the boat, and at last, unshipping the rudder, got clear off. Some other very daring thefts were committed at the landing-place. One fellow took a seaman's jacket out of the boat and carried it off in spite of all the people in her. The rest of the natives, who were very numerous, took very little notice of the whole transaction, nor were they the least alarmed when the man was fired at.

Attago visited Captain Cook again the next morning, and brought with him a hog, and assisted him in purchasing several more. This day the captain was told by the officers who were on shore that a far greater man than any they had

yet seen was come to pay them a visit. Mr. Pickersgill informed them that he had seen him in the country, and found that he was a man of consequence, by the extraordinary respect paid to him by the people. Some, when they approached him, fell on their faces, and put their heads between their feet ; and no one durst pass him without permission. The captain found him seated near the landing-place, with so much sullen and stupid gravity, that, notwithstanding what had been told him, he really took him for an idiot, whom the people, from some superstitious notions, were ready to worship. He saluted, and spoke to him ; but he neither answered nor did he alter a single feature in his countenance. This confirmed him in his opinion, and he was just going to leave him, when one of the natives undertook to undeceive him ; which he did in such a manner as left no room to doubt that he was the king, or principal man in the island. Accordingly, he made him a present, which consisted of a shirt, an axe, a piece of red cloth, a looking-glass, some nails, medals, and beads. He received these things, or rather suffered them to be put upon him, and laid by him, without either losing his gravity, speaking one word, or turning his head either to the right or left ; sitting thus like a statue, he was left by the Englishmen, who returned on board, when he soon after retired. The captain had not been long on board before word was brought that a quantity of provisions had come from this chief. A boat was sent to bring it from the shore ; and it was found to consist of twenty baskets of roasted bananas, sour bread, and yams, and a roasted pig of about twenty pounds' weight. The bearers said it was a present from the areeke, that is, the king of the island, to the areeke of the ship. After this, they could no longer doubt the dignity of this sullen chief, whose name was Kohaghee-too-Fallangou.

The captain again went on shore and made this great man a suitable present, and immediately prepared for quitting the place. At ten o'clock they weighed anchor. The supplies they got at this isle were about 150 pigs, twice that number of fowls, as many bananas and cocoa-nuts as they could find

room for, with a few yams, and had the stay been longer, they, no doubt, might have obtained a great deal more.

These islands were first discovered by Captain Tasman in 1642-3, and were called by him Amsterdam and Middleburgh; but the former is called by the natives Ton-ga-ta-bu, the latter, Ea-oo-wee.

The produce and cultivation of Middleburgh and Amsterdam are the same, with this difference, that a part only of the former is cultivated. The lanes or roads necessary for travelling are laid out in so judicious a manner as to open a free and easy communication from one part of the island to the other. There are no towns or villages; most of the houses are built in the plantations, with no other order than what convenience requires. They have little areas before most of them, which are generally planted round with trees, or ornamental shrubs, whose fragrant perfumes fill the air; their household furniture consists of a few wooden platters, cocoa-nut shells, and some wooden pillars, shaped like four-footed stools or forms. Their ordinary clothing, with the addition of a mat, serves for bedding.

They saw no other domestic animals amongst them except hogs and fowls. The former are similar to those in neighbouring islands, but the latter are far superior, being as large as any we have in Europe, and their flesh equally good, if not better. The land birds are numerous.

The construction and make of their canoes, in point of neatness and workmanship, exceed everything of the kind seen in this sea. They are built of several pieces sewed together with bandage in so neat a manner that on the outside it is difficult to see the joints. All the fastenings are inside, and pass through kants or ridges, which are wrought on the edges and ends of the several boards, which compose the vessel, for that purpose. At each end is a kind of deck, one-third part of the whole length, and open in the middle. These single canoes have all out-riggers, and are sometimes navigated with sails, but more generally with paddles. The two vessels which compose the double canoe are each about 60 or 70 feet long, and 4 or 5 feet broad in the middle, and

each end terminates nearly in a point. Thus the body, or hull, differs a little in construction from the single canoe, but is put together exactly in the same manner.

All parts which compose the double canoe are made as strong and light as the nature of the work will admit, and may be immersed in water to the very platform without being in danger of filling. Nor is it possible, under any circumstances whatever, for them to sink as long as they hold together, thus fitting them for distant navigation. They are rigged with one mast and a latteen, or triangular, sail, extended by a long yard, which is a little bent. The sail is made of mats, the rope they make use of is laid exactly like those of Europe, and some of it is four or five inch. On the platform is built a little shed or hut, which screens the crew from the sea and weather, and serves for other purposes.

Their working tools are made of stone, bones, and shells. The Englishmen were struck with admiration at the ingenuity and patience of the workmen. Their knowledge of the utility of iron was no more than sufficient to teach them to prefer nails to beads and such trifles; some, but few, would exchange a pig for a large nail or a hatchet. Old jackets, shirts, cloth, and even rags, were in more esteem than the best edge-tool. The only piece of iron amongst them was a small brad-awl, which had been made of a nail.

Both men and women are of ordinary stature, and their colour is a lightish copper. They have fine eyes, and in general good teeth, even to an advanced age. The men are tattooed from the middle of the thigh to above the hips. The women have it only on their arms and fingers, and there but slightly. The dress of both sexes consists of a piece of cloth or matting wrapped round the waist, from whence upwards they are generally naked; and it seemed to be a custom to anoint these parts every morning.

Their ornaments are amulets, necklaces, and bracelets of bones, shells, and beads of mother-of-pearl and tortoise-shell, which are worn by both sexes. They make various sorts of matting, some of a very fine texture, which is generally used

for clothing, and the thick or stronger sort serves to sleep on, and to make sails for canoes. Among other useful utensils, they have various sorts of baskets ; some made of the same material as their mats, and others of the twisted fibres of cocoa-nuts. These are not only durable but beautiful, being generally composed of different colours, and studded with beads made of shells or bones.

The women frequently entertained them with songs, keeping time by snapping the fingers. Not only their voices, but their music was very harmonious, and they have a considerable compass in their notes. The common method of saluting one another is by touching or meeting noses, as is done in New Zealand ; and their sign of peace to strangers is the displaying a white flag or flags. From their unsuspicious manner of coming on board, it appears they are seldom disturbed by foreign or domestic troubles. They are moreover not unprovided with very formidable weapons, such as clubs and spears made of hard wood, also bows and arrows. They have a singular custom of putting everything you give them to their heads by way of thanks. Very often the women would take hold of Captain Cook's hand, kiss it, and lift it to their heads.

It was observed that the greater part of the people, both men and women, had lost one or both of their little fingers. It was neither peculiar to rank, age, nor sex ; nor is it done at any certain age, as there were people of all ages on whom the amputation had been just performed, and, except some young children, there were few who had both hands perfect. As it was more common among the aged than the young, some were of opinion, that it was occasioned by the death of their parents, or some other near relation. They also burn or make incisions in their cheeks, near the cheek-bone. They all appeared healthy, strong, and vigorous ; a proof of the salubrity of the climate in which they live.

Leaving these islands, the ships made sail to the southward, as it was Captain Cook's intention to proceed directly to Queen Charlotte's Sound, in New Zealand, there to take in wood and water, and then to continue exploring to the



south and east. He was desirous of having some intercourse with the natives of this country, about Poverty and Tolaga Bays, where he apprehended they were more civilised than at Queen Charlotte's Sound, in order to give them some hogs, fowls, seeds, and roots, which he had provided for the purpose.

They arrived on the 21st, and passing Cape Kidnappers, saw some canoes put off from the shore. Upon this they lay-to, in order to give them time to come on board. Those in the first canoe, which came alongside, were fishermen, and exchanged some fish for pieces of cloth and nails. In the next were two men, who, by their dress and behaviour, seemed to be chiefs. These were easily prevailed upon to come on board, when they were presented with nails and other articles. The former they seized with such eagerness, as plainly showed they were the most highly prized. To the principal of these men Captain Cook gave the pigs, fowls, seeds, and roots. At first he did not think they were intended for him, and took very little notice of them, till he was satisfied they were for himself; nor was he then in such raptures as when Captain Cook gave him a spike-nail half the length of his arm. However, on his going away, the captain observed that he took care to have them all collected together, and kept a watchful eye over them, lest any should be taken away. He made a promise not to kill any pigs, and if he kept his word, and proper care was taken of them, there were enough to stock the whole island in due time. The seeds were wheat, French and kidney beans, peas, cabbage, turnips, onions, carrots, parsnips, and yams. It was evident these people had not forgot the *Endeavour* being on their coast, for the first words they spoke were, "We are afraid of the great guns." As they could not be strangers to the affair of Cape Kidnappers, in the former voyage, experience had taught them to have sound dread of these instruments of death.

They now sailed for the southward, and for two days were beating up against a hard gale. When they arrived just in sight of port they had the mortification to be driven off from the land by a furious storm.

They continued to battle against tempestuous weather till the 30th, when they lost sight of the *Adventure*. In the afternoon the gale abated. Captain Cook now regretted her absence, for had she been with him he would have given up all thoughts of going to Queen Charlotte's Sound to wood and water, and have sought for a place further south, as the wind was now favourable for ranging along the coast. As they approached the land they saw smoke in several places along the shore, a sure sign that the coast was inhabited. They continued to stand to the eastward all night, in hopes of meeting with the *Adventure* in the morning, but in this they were disappointed, and soon encountered another storm.

After a succession of calms and brisk gales, in tracing the coast they discovered, on the east side of Cape Teerawhitte, a new inlet they had never observed before, into which they entered and cast anchor. Soon after they had brought-to, several of the natives came off in their canoes, two from one shore and one from the other. It required but little address to get three or four of them on board. These people were extravagantly fond of nails above every other thing. To one man the captain gave two cocks and two hens, which he received with so much indifference as gave little hopes that he would take proper care of them. They had not been at anchor here above two hours when the wind veered to the N.E., upon which they weighed and steered for the Sound, where they arrived just at dark, with most of their sails split.

The next morning, the 3rd of November, the gale abated, and was succeeded by a few hours' calm; after that a breeze sprang up from the N.W., with which they weighed and ran up into Ship Cove, where they did not find the *Adventure*, as was expected.

Here they saw the youngest of the two sows Captain Furneaux had put on shore in Cannibal Cove when they were last here. It was lame of one of its hind legs, otherwise in good case and very tame. If they understood these people right, the boar and other sow were also taken away and separated, but not killed. The two goats had been killed. Thus all their endeavours to stock this country with useful

animals were on the point of being frustrated by the very people they meant to serve. The gardens had fared somewhat better. Everything in them, except the potatoes, had been left entirely to nature, who had acted her part so well that most articles were in a flourishing state, a proof that the winter must have been mild. The potatoes had most of them been dug up ; some, however, still remained and were growing.

Next morning Captain Cook sent over to the cove, where the natives resided, to haul the seine, and took with him a boar and a young sow, two cocks and two hens they had brought from the isles. These he gave to the natives, being persuaded they would take care of them, by their having kept Captain Furneaux's sow near five months. When they were purchasing fish from these people, they showed a great inclination to pick pockets, and to take away the fish with one hand which they had just sold or bartered with the other.

This evil one of the chiefs undertook to remove, and with fury in his eyes pretended to keep the people at a proper distance. The captain says, "I applauded his conduct, but kept so good a look-out as to detect him in picking my pocket of a handkerchief, which I suffered him to put in his bosom before I seemed to know anything of the matter, and then told him what I had lost. He seemed quite innocent and ignorant till I took it from him, and then he put it off with a laugh, acting his part with so much address that it was hardly possible for me to be angry with him ; so we remained good friends, and he accompanied me on board to dinner." About this time they were visited by several strangers in four or five canoes. These new comers took up their quarters in a cove near the tents ; but very early in the morning moved off with six small water casks, and with them all the people they found here on their arrival. They left behind them some of their dogs, and the boar which had been given them the day before, which the captain now took back again, as he had not another.

In unpacking the bread, 4,392 lbs. were found totally unfit

to eat, and about 3,000 more could only be eaten by people in their situation.

Very early in the morning of the 22nd they were visited by a number of the natives, in four or five canoes, very few of whom they had seen before.

These people brought with them various articles for barter; at first the exchanges were much in the sailors' favour, till an old man, who was no stranger, came and assisted his countrymen with his advice.

After the natives were gone, the captain took three sows and a boar, two cocks and two hens, which he landed at the bottom of the West Bay, carrying them a little way into the woods, where he left them with as much food as would serve them ten or twelve days. This was done with a view of keeping them in the woods, lest they should come down on the shore in search of food, and be discovered by the natives.

Having now put the ship in a condition for sea, and to encounter the southern latitudes, the tents were struck and everything got on board.

The boatswain, with a party of men, being in the woods, cutting broom, some of them found a private hut of the natives, in which was deposited most of the treasures they had received from them, as well as some other articles of their own. Complaint was soon made by the natives that some articles had been carried off, and they particularly charged one man with the theft. The captain having ordered him to be punished before them, they went away seemingly satisfied, although they did not recover any of the things they had lost. It was ever a maxim with Captain Cook to punish the smallest crimes of any of his people committed against these uncivilised nations, for he considered their robbing them with impunity was by no means a sufficient reason why the Europeans should do likewise.

Calm light air from the north all day on the 23rd hindered them from putting to sea as intended. In the afternoon some of the officers went on shore to amuse themselves among the natives, where they saw the head and bowels of a youth, who had lately been killed in a skirmish, lying on the

beach, and the heart stuck on a forked stick, which was fixed to the head of one of the largest canoes. One of the gentlemen bought the head, and brought it on board, where a piece of the flesh was broiled and eaten by one of the natives, before all the officers and most of the men. Captain Cook was on shore at this time, but soon after returning on board was informed of the circumstance, and found the quarter-deck crowded with the natives, and the mangled head, or rather part of it, lying on the taffrail. The skull had been broken on the left side, just above the temples, and the remains of the face had all the appearance of a youth of twenty. The sight of the head and the relation of the above circumstances struck him with horror, and filled his mind with indignation against these cannibals. Curiosity, however, got the better of his indignation, especially when he considered that it would avail but little; and being desirous of becoming an eye-witness of a fact which many doubted, he ordered a piece of the flesh to be broiled and brought to the quarter-deck, where one of these cannibals ate it with surprising avidity. This had such an effect on some of the sailors as to make them sick.

That the New Zealanders are cannibals cannot be doubted, though the account given of this in Captain Cook's former voyage was discredited by many persons.

On the 25th they weighed, Captain Cook having on the previous morning written a memorandum setting forth the time he arrived, the day he sailed, the route he intended to take, and such other information as he thought necessary for Captain Furneaux, in case he should put into the Sound, and buried it in a bottle under the root of a tree in the garden, in such a manner as must have been found by him, or any European who might put into the cove. Everyone being unanimously of opinion that the *Adventure* could neither be stranded on the coast, nor be in any of the harbours, they gave up all thoughts of seeing her any more during the voyage, as no rendezvous was fixed upon after leaving New Zealand.

On the 14th of December they fell in with several large

icebergs, and about noon with a quantity of loose ice, through which they sailed. Gray albatrosses, blue petrels, and other sea birds, were seen. As they advanced with a fresh gale from the west, they found the number of icebergs greatly to increase, also a considerable quantity of loose ice. They tacked, stretched to the north, and soon got clear of it, but not before they had received several hard knocks from the larger pieces, which, with all their care, they could not avoid. After clearing one danger, they still had another to encounter ; for the weather remained foggy, and many large islands lay in their way.

On the 21st they suddenly found themselves amongst a cluster of large icebergs and a vast quantity of loose pieces ; and, as the fog was very thick, it was with the utmost difficulty they got clear of them. On the 23rd, the wind being pretty moderate and the sea smooth, they brought-to at the outer edge of the ice, hoisted out two boats, and sent to take some up. The snow froze on the rigging as it fell, making the ropes like wires and the sails like boards or plates of metal.

On the 30th of January, 1774, very early in the morning, they perceived the clouds over the horizon to the south to be of an unusual snow-white brightness, which they knew denoted their approach to field-ice. Soon after, they were close to its edge. It extended east and west far beyond the reach of their sight. Ninety-seven ice hills were distinctly seen within the field, besides those on the outside ; many of them very large and looking like a ridge of mountains, rising one above another, till they were lost in the clouds. The outer or northern edge of this immense field was composed of loose or broken ice close packed together, so that it was not possible for anything to enter it. This was about a mile broad, within which was solid ice in one continued compact body. It was rather low and flat, except the hills, but seemed to increase in height to the south, in which direction it extended beyond their sight.

Captain Cook says, " I will not say it was impossible anywhere to get further to the south, but the attempting it would

have been a dangerous and rash enterprise, and what I believe no man in my situation would have thought of. "I, who had an ambition not only to go farther than any one had been before, but as far as it was possible for man to go, was not sorry to meet with this interruption, as it in some measure relieved us, and at least shortened the dangers and hardships inseparable from the navigation of the southern polar regions. Since, therefore, we could not proceed one inch farther to the south, no other reason need be assigned for my tacking and standing to the north." The captain now came to the resolution to proceed to the north, and to spend the ensuing winter within the tropics, as he was now quite satisfied that no continent existed in this ocean, but what must lie so far to the south as to be totally inaccessible on account of the ice; and that if one should be found in the South Atlantic Ocean, it would be necessary to have the whole summer to explore it.

They now steered north, inclining to the east, and in the evening were overtaken by a furious storm, attended with snow and sleet. It came so suddenly upon them that before they could take in their sails two of them were blown to pieces, and the others much damaged.

On the 25th Captain Cook was taken ill of a bilious colic, which was so violent as to confine him to his bed, so that the management of the ship was left to Mr. Cooper, the first lieutenant, who performed his duties much to his satisfaction. It was several days before the dangerous symptoms of his disorder were removed. When he began to recover, a favourite dog belonging to Mr. Foster fell a sacrifice to his tender stomach. They had no other fresh meat whatever on board, and the captain could eat of this flesh as well as broth made of it, when he could taste nothing else. Thus he received nourishment and strength from food which would have made most people in Europe sick; so true it is that necessity is governed by no law.

At eight o'clock in the morning of the 11th of March land was seen from the mast-head, bearing west, about twelve leagues distant. They now tacked, and endeavoured to get

into what appeared to be a bay, on the west side of the point ; but before this could be accomplished night came upon them, and they stood on and off, under the land, till next morning. This is called Easter Island or Davis' Land. Here a canoe, conducted by two men, came off. They brought with them a bunch of plantains, which they sent into the ship by a rope, and then returned ashore. This gave the captain a good opinion of the islanders, and inspired them with hopes of getting some provisions, of which they were much in want. They continued to range along the coast till they opened the northern point of the isle. While the ship was working in, a native came on board. The first thing he did was to measure the length of the ship, by fathoming her from the taffrail to the stem ; and as he counted the fathoms they observed that he called the numbers by the same names they do at Otaheite. Nevertheless, his language was nearly unintelligible to them. Next morning the captain went ashore, accompanied by some of the gentlemen, to see what the island was likely to afford. They landed on a sandy beach, where some hundreds of the natives were assembled, who were so impatient to see them that many swam off to meet the boats. Not one of them had so much as a stick or weapon of any sort in his hand. After distributing a few trinkets among them, they made signs for something to eat, on which they brought down a few potatoes, plantains, and sugar-canes, and exchanged them for nails, looking-glasses, and pieces of cloth. They soon discovered that they were expert thieves, and as cheating in their exchanges as any people they had yet met with. It was with some difficulty they could keep their hats on their heads, but it was hardly possible to keep anything in their pockets, not even what they had just bought, for they would watch every opportunity to snatch it from them, so that they sometimes bought the same thing two or three times over, and after all did not get it.

The captain was obliged to content himself with remaining at the landing-place among the natives, as he had not yet recovered. They had a pretty brisk trade with them for potatoes, which were dug out of an adjoining plantation ; but



this traffic was soon put a stop to, by the owner of the plantation coming down and driving all the people out of it. By this they concluded that he had been robbed of his property, and that they were not less scrupulous of stealing from one another than from their visitors, on whom they practised every little fraud they could think of, and generally with success ; for they had no sooner detected them in one, than they found out another. A party who had been sent out in the morning to view the country now returned. They had not proceeded far before a middle-aged man, punctured from head to foot, and his face painted with a sort of white pigment, appeared with a spear in his hand, and walked alongside of them, making signs to his countrymen to keep at a distance, and not to molest them. When he had pretty well effected this, he hoisted a piece of white cloth on his spear, placed himself in front, and led the way with this ensign of peace.

On the east side, near the sea, they met with three platforms of stone work, or rather the ruins of them ; on each of these had stood four large statues, but they were all fallen down from two of the platforms, and also one from the third ; only one was uninjured by the fall, or in no degree defaced. Mr. Wales measured this one, and found it to be 15 feet in length and 6 feet broad over the shoulders. Each statue had on its head a large cylindrical stone of a red colour, wrought perfectly round. The one they measured, which was not the largest, was 52 inches high and 66 inches in diameter. In some the upper corner of the cylinder was taken off in a sort of concave quarter round ; but in others the cylinder was entire. Beyond this, they came to the most fertile part of the island, it being interspersed with plantations of potatoes, sugar-canes, and plantain trees ; but they could find no water, except what the natives twice or thrice brought them, which, though brackish and stinking, was rendered acceptable by the extremity of their thirst. They also passed some huts, the owners of which met them with roasted potatoes and sugar-canes ; but at the very time some were relieving the thirsty and hungry,

there were others who endeavoured to steal from them the very things which had been given them. At last, to prevent worse consequences, they were obliged to fire a load of small shot at one of them, who had been so audacious as to snatch the bags which contained everything they carried with them. The shot hit him on the back, on which he dropped the bags, ran a little way, and then fell ; but he afterwards got up and walked, and what became of him they knew not, nor whether he was much wounded. This affair occasioned some delay, and drew the natives together. They presently saw the man who had hitherto led the way, and one or two more come running towards them ; but, instead of stopping when they came up, they continued to run round them, repeating in a kind manner a few words, until they set forward again. Then their old guide hoisted his flag, leading the way as before, and none ever attempted to steal from them the whole day afterwards.

They observed that the eastern side of the island was full of gigantic statues, some placed in groups on platforms of masonry, others single, fixed only in the earth, and in general much larger than those in groups. Having measured one which had fallen down, they found it very near 27 feet long, and upwards of 8 feet over the shoulders, and yet this appeared considerably short of the size of one they saw standing. They saw no animals of any sort, and but few birds, and Captain Cook determined to leave the island the next morning, since nothing could be obtained that made it worth his while to stay.

The produce of this island is sweet potatoes, yams, plantains, and sugar-canes, all pretty good, the potatoes especially, which are the best of the kind they ever tasted. They have a few tame fowls, such as cocks and hens, but they saw very little fish amongst the natives. The inhabitants did not seem to exceed 700 souls, above two-thirds of whom appeared to be males. They either have few women among them, or else many were restrained from making their appearance. In general the people of this isle are a slender race. They did not see a man that would measure 6 feet, so far are

they from being giants, as one of the authors of Roggewein's Voyage asserts. They are brisk and active, have good features, and not disagreeable countenances, are friendly and hospitable to strangers, but as much addicted to pilfering as any of their neighbours.

The women's clothing is a piece or two of quilted cloth about 6 feet by 4, or a mat. One piece wrapped round their loins and another over their shoulders make a complete dress. The men, for the most part, wear only a slip of cloth betwixt their legs, each end of which is fastened to a cord or belt round the waist.

On the 16th March the ship stood out to sea, and having a steady, settled trade-wind and pleasant weather, the forge was ordered to be set up to repair, and to make various necessary articles in iron. On the 6th of April they saw an isle which, as it was a new discovery, they named Hood's Island, after the young gentleman who first saw it. The second was that of St. Pedro, the third La Dominica, and the fourth St. Christina, all of the Marquesas group. They sailed along the S.E. coast of La Dominica without seeing any anchorage. Some canoes put off from these places, and followed them down the coast. At length, having come before the port they were in search of, they cast anchor. This was no sooner done, than about thirty or forty of the natives came off in ten or twelve canoes; but it required some address to get them alongside. At last a hatchet and some spike-nails induced the people in one canoe to come under the quarter-gallery, after which all the others pulled alongside, and, having exchanged some bread-fruit and fish for nails, retired on shore.

Very early next morning the natives visited them again, in much greater numbers than before, bringing with them bread-fruit, plantains, and one pig, all of which they exchanged. But in this traffic they would frequently keep their goods and make no return, till at last the captain was obliged to fire a musket-ball over one man who had several times served them in this manner, after which they dealt more fairly, and soon after several of them came on board. As the

captain was going in a boat to look for a more convenient place to moor the ship in, he observed too many of the natives on board, and advised the officers to be on their guard. He had hardly got into the boat before he was told that they had stolen one of the iron stanchions, and were making off with it. He ordered them to fire over the canoe; but the natives made too much noise for him to be heard, and the unhappy thief was killed at the third shot.

At this unhappy accident, all the natives retired with precipitation. The captain followed them into the bay, and prevailed on the people in one canoe to come alongside the boat, and receive some nails and other things, which he gave them. One would have thought that the natives, by this time, would have been so sensible of the effect of firearms, as not to have provoked them to fire upon them any more, but the event proved otherwise; for the boat had no sooner left the kedge-anchor than the men in the canoe put off from the shore, took hold of the buoy rope, and attempted to drag it ashore. Two shots were fired at them, and at the second, which passed over them, they let go the buoy and made for the shore. This was the last shot they had occasion to fire at any of them while they lay at this place.

On the 10th April some people from more distant parts came alongside in canoes, and sold some pigs; so that they now had sufficient to give the crew a fresh meal. After dinner the captain went on shore and collected eighteen hogs. Next morning he went down to the same place where he had been the preceding evening; but, instead of getting pigs as he expected, found the scene quite changed. The nails and other things they were mad after the evening before, they now despised. The reason was, several of the young gentlemen, having landed the preceding day, had given away in exchange various articles which the people had not seen before, and which pleased them more than nails or more useful iron tools. Trade being thus stopped, the captain prepared to leave this place, and go where their wants might effectually be relieved; for, after having been nineteen weeks at sea, and living all the time on salt diet,

they were much in want of fresh provisions ; yet they had not one sick man on board, owing to the many antiscorbutic articles they took, and to the attention of the surgeon. On the 11th of April, at three o'clock in the afternoon, they weighed. They had now but little wind, and that very variable, with showers of rain.

The Marquesas were discovered by Mendana, a Spaniard, and from him obtained the general name they now bear. They are five in number, viz, La Magdalena, St. Pedro, La Dominica, Santa Christina, and Hood's Island, which is the northernmost ; La Dominica is the largest. The inhabitants are, without exception, the finest race of people in this sea. For fine shape and regular features, they perhaps surpass the other nations. Nevertheless, the affinity of their language to that spoken in Otaheite and the Society Isles show that they are of the same nation. Oedidee could converse with them tolerably well ; and it was easy to see that their language was nearly the same. The men, for the most part, have nothing to cover their nakedness, except the marra, as it is called at Otaheite, which is a slip of cloth passed round the waist and betwixt the legs. This simple dress is quite sufficient for the climate, and answers every purpose modesty requires. The dress of the women is a piece of cloth wrapped round the loins like a petticoat, which reaches down below the middle of the leg, and a loose mantle over their shoulders.

In eating, these people are by no means so cleanly as the Otaheiteans. They are likewise dirty in their cookery. Captain Cook says he saw them make a batter of fruit and roots, diluted with water, in a vessel that was loaded with dirt, and out of which the hogs had been eating, without either washing it or their hands, which were equally dirty.

They proceeded with a fine easterly wind till the 17th, when land was seen bearing W. half N., which, upon a nearer approach, they found to be a string of low islets, connected together by a reef of coral rocks. As they steered along the coast the natives appeared in several places, armed with long spears and clubs. The captain sent two boats ashore, under the

command of Lieutenant Cooper, with a view of having some intercourse with them. The natives saw them land without offering the least opposition. Some little time after, however, observing forty or fifty natives, all armed, coming towards the boats, they stood close in shore, in order to be ready to support their people in case of an attack. But nothing of the kind happened; and soon after the boats returned on board, when Mr. Cooper informed the captain that only a few of the natives met him on the beach, though there were many in the skirts of the woods, with spears in their hands. The presents he made them were received with great coolness, which plainly showed they were unwelcome visitors. They brought on board five dogs, which seemed to be in plenty there. They saw no fruit but cocoa-nuts, of which they got two dozen by exchange. This island, which is called by the inhabitants Tiookea, was discovered by Commodore Byron. It is something of an oval shape, and is about ten leagues in circuit.

On the 18th, at daybreak, they bore down to another isle to the westward, which they reached by eight o'clock, and ranged about the S.E. side, one mile from shore. They made the high land of Otaheite on the 21st of April, and at eight o'clock the next morning anchored in Matavai Bay. This was no sooner known to the natives than many of them paid them a visit, and expressed not a little joy at seeing them again.

On the 24th, Otoo the king, and several other chiefs, with a train of attendants, brought them, as presents, ten or a dozen large hogs, besides fruit. The captain, knowing how much it was his interest to make this man his friend, met him at the tents, and conducted him and his friend on board, where they stayed to dinner, after which they were dismissed with suitable presents, highly pleased with the reception they had met with. They found these people building a great number of large canoes and houses of every kind, some living in spacious habitations who had not a place to shelter themselves in eight months before; several large hogs about every house, and every other sign of a rising state. Judging from

these circumstances that they would not fare better by removing to another island, Captain Cook resolved to make some stay.

In the morning of the 26th the captain went down to Oparree, accompanied by some of the officers and gentlemen, to pay Otoo a visit. As they drew near they observed a number of large canoes in motion, but were surprised when they arrived to see upwards of 300, ranged in order, for some distance along the shore, all completely equipped and manned, besides a vast number of armed men upon the shore. So unexpected an armament collected together in their neighbourhood in the space of one night gave rise to various conjectures. The vessels of war consisted of 160 large double canoes, very well equipped, manned, and armed. The chiefs and fighting men were dressed in their war panoply, consisting of a vast quantity of cloth, turbans, breast-plates, and helmets. The vessels were decorated with flags and streamers, so that the whole made a grand and noble appearance, such as they had never before seen in this sea, and what no one would have expected. Their instruments of war were clubs, spears, and stones. Besides the vessels of war, there were 170 sail of smaller double canoes, all with a little house upon them, and rigged with a mast and sail, which the war canoes had not. These were designed for transports and victuallers — for in the war canoes was no sort of provisions whatever. In these 330 vessels there were no less than 7,760 men. Tupia informed them, when they were first here, that the whole island raised only between 6,000 and 7,000 men ; but now they saw two districts only raise that number. They had not been long gone from Oparree before the whole fleet was in motion to the westward, whence it came. When they got to Matavai, they were told that this fleet was part of the armament intended to go against Eimeo, whose chief had thrown off the yoke of Otaheite.

In the morning of the 27th of April the captain received a present from a chief named Towha, consisting of two large hogs, and some fruit sent by two of his servants, who had orders to decline anything in return ; nor would they receive

what was offered to them. Soon after, he went down to Oparree in his boat, where, having found both this chief and the king, after a short stay he brought them both on board to dinner, together with Tarevato, the king's younger brother, and Tee, his uncle. As they drew near the ship, Towha, the admiral, who had never seen one before, began to express much surprise. He was conducted all over the ship, every part of which he viewed with great attention. On this occasion, Otoo was the principal showman ; for, by this time, he was well acquainted with the different parts of the ship. Soon after, the king and his attendants went away also. Captain Cook had been urged to assist them against Tiarabou, but to their solicitations he gave no encouragement.

On the 28th, one of the natives attempted to steal a water-cask from the watering-place ; he was caught in the act, sent on board, and put in irons, in which situation Otoo and the other chiefs saw him. Having made known his crime to them, Otoo begged he might be set at liberty. This the captain refused, telling him that since he punished his people when they committed the least offence against the natives, it was but just this man should be punished also. Accordingly he ordered the man to be carried on shore to the tents ; and having expostulated with Otoo on the conduct of his people in general, telling him that neither he nor any of his people took anything from them without first paying for it, he added that punishing this offender would be the means of saving the lives of others of his people, by deterring them from committing crimes of this nature. With these and other arguments, which he pretty well understood, he seemed satisfied, and only desired the man might not be killed. The captain then ordered the crowd, which was very great, to be kept at a proper distance, and, in the presence of them all, ordered the fellow two dozen lashes with the cat-o'-nine-tails, which he bore with great firmness, and was then set at liberty. After this the natives were going away, but Towha stepped forth, called them back, and harangued them for nearly half an hour. His speech consisted of short sentences, which were not well understood ; but from what they could gather,



he condemned their present conduct, and recommended a different one for the future. The gracefulness of his action, and the attention with which he was heard, bespoke him a great orator. Otoo remained silent. As soon as Towha had ended his speech, the captain ordered the marines to go through their exercise, and to load and fire volleys with ball; and as they were very quick in their manœuvres, it is easier to conceive than to describe the amazement the natives were under the whole time. This being over, the chiefs took leave and retired with all their attendants, scarcely more pleased than frightened at what they had seen.

On going ashore on the morning of the 7th they found Otoo at the tents, and took the opportunity of asking his leave to cut down some trees for fuel, which he readily granted. The captain told him he should cut down no trees that bore any fruit. He was pleased with this declaration, and told it aloud several times to the people about them.

The following night all their friendly connections received an interruption through the negligence of one of the sentries on shore. He having either slept or quitted his post, one of the natives carried off his musket. The first news the captain heard of it was from Tee, whom Otoo had sent on board for that purpose. They were not well enough acquainted with their language to understand all Tee's story, but they understood enough to know that something had happened which had alarmed the king. In order, therefore, to be fully informed, the captain went ashore with Tee. As soon as they landed, he was informed of the whole by the sergeant who commanded the party. The natives were all alarmed, and most of them fled. Tee and the captain went to look for Otoo, and as they advanced he endeavoured to allay the fears of the people, but at the same time insisted on the musket being restored. After travelling some distance into the country, Tee stopped all at once, and advised the captain to return, saying that Otoo was gone to the mountains, and he would proceed and tell him that he (the captain) was still his friend. Tee also promised that he would use his endeavours to recover the musket.

The captain returned to the ship, and soon after he observed six large canoes coming round Point Venus. There being room for suspecting that some persons belonging to these canoes had committed the theft, he came to a resolution to intercept them, and having put off in a boat for that purpose, he gave orders for another to follow. One of the canoes, which was some distance ahead of the rest, came directly for the ship. He went alongside this, and was told that Otoo was then at the tents. Pleased with this news, he contradicted the orders he had given for intercepting the other canoes, thinking they might be coming on board also. But when he landed he was told that Otoo had not been there, nor did they know anything of him. On looking behind him, he saw all the canoes making off in the greatest haste; even the one he had left alongside the ship was making her escape. Vexed at being thus outwitted, he resolved to pursue them, and as he passed the ship gave orders to send another boat for the same purpose. Five out of the six canoes they took, and brought alongside; but the first, which had finessed so well, got clear off.

In one of the canoes they had taken was a chief, a friend of Mr. Foster's, who had hitherto called himself an Earee, and would have been much offended if any one had called his title in question; also three women — his wife and daughter, and the mother of the late Tootahah. These, together with the canoes, the captain resolved to detain, and to send the chief to Otoo; thinking he would have weight enough with him to obtain the return of the musket, as his own property was at stake. In the dusk of the evening it was brought to the tents, together with some other things they had lost, which they knew nothing of, by three men who had pursued the thief, and taken them from him. The captain, who could not gather whether they took this trouble of their own accord, or by order of Otoo, rewarded them, and made no further inquiry about it. When the musket and other things were brought in, every one then present, or who came after, pretended to have some hand in recovering them, and claimed a reward accordingly. But there was no one acted this farce

so well as Nuno, a man of some note, and well known to Captain Cook, when he was here in 1769. This man came with all the savage fury imaginable in his countenance, and a large club in his hand, with which he beat about him, in order to show how he alone had killed the thief ; when, at the same time, they all knew that he had not been out of his house the whole time.

Things were now once more restored to their former state ; and Otoo promised, on his part, that the next day they should be supplied as usual. They then returned with him to his proper residence at Oparree, and there took a view of some of his dockyards (for such they well deserved to be called), and large canoes, some lately built, and others building, two of which were the largest they had ever seen under that name. They now returned to the ship. Otoo being desirous to see the great guns fired from the ship, the captain ordered twelve to be shotted and fired towards the sea. As he had never seen a cannon fired before, the sight gave him as much pain as pleasure. In the evening they entertained him with fireworks, which gave him great satisfaction. Thus ended all their differences.

As the most essential repairs of the ship were nearly finished, it was resolved to leave Otaheite in a few days ; the captain accordingly ordered everything to be got off from the shore, that the natives might see they were about to depart.

On the 12th, old Oberea, the woman who, when the *Dolphin* was here in 1767, was thought to be queen of the island, and whom they had not seen since 1769, paid them a visit, and brought a present of hogs and fruit. Soon after Otoo arrived with a great retinue, and a large quantity of provisions. The captain was pretty generous in his returns, thinking it might be the last time he should see these good people, who had so liberally relieved their wants ; and, in the evening, entertained them with fireworks.

On the 14th they saw a number of war canoes coming round the point of Oparree. Being desirous of having a nearer view of them, accompanied by many officers and

gentlemen, they hastened down to Oparree, which they reached before all the canoes were landed, and had an opportunity of seeing in what manner they approached the shore. When they got before the landing-place, they formed themselves into divisions, and then each division, one after the other, paddled in for the shore with all their might, in the most exact and regular manner. All their motions were observed with such quickness as clearly showed them to be expert in their business. Otoo, who was present, caused some of his troops to go through their exercise on shore. Two parties first began with clubs, but this was over almost as soon as begun, so that they had no time to make observations. They then went to single combat, and exhibited the various methods of fighting with great alertness, parrying off the blows and pushes which each combatant aimed at the other with great dexterity. Their arms were clubs and spears; the latter they also used as darts. In fighting with the club, all blows intended to be given the legs were evaded by leaping over it, and those intended for the head by couching a little and leaping on one side.

The hospitality at this isle was such as to induce one of the gunner's mates to form a plan to remain at it; but he was discovered before he could effect his purpose. He was an Irishman by birth, and had sailed in the Dutch service. The captain picked him up at Batavia, on his return from his former voyage, and he had been with him ever since. Having neither friends nor connections to confine him to any particular part of the world, all nations were alike to him.

The two goats which Captain Furneaux gave to Otoo when they were last here, seemed to promise fair for answering the end for which they were put on shore. The ewe soon after had two female kids, which were now well grown. The sheep which they left died soon after, excepting one, which they understood was yet alive. They also furnished them with a stock of cats, no less than twenty having been given away at this isle.

In the afternoon, on the 15th of May, they anchored in O'Wharre Harbour, in the island of Huaheine, when Oree,

the chief, brought a hog and other articles to the captain, who in return invited him and his friends to dinner. In the evening of the 17th, some of the gentlemen went to a dramatic entertainment given by Oree. The piece represented a girl as running away with them from Otaheite, which was in some degree true, as a young woman had taken a passage with them down to Ulietea, and happened now to be present at the representation of her own adventures ; this had such an effect upon her that it was with great difficulty the gentlemen could prevail upon her to see the play out, or to refrain from shedding tears while it was acting.

Some of the petty officers, who had leave to go into the country for their amusement, took two of the natives with them as guides, and to carry their bags, containing nails, hatchets, and other articles, the current cash they traded with here, which the fellows made off with in the following artful manner. The petty officers having with them two muskets for shooting birds, their guides pointed out some for them to kill. One of the muskets, owing to the rain, having missed fire several times, and the other having gone off, the instant the fellows saw themselves secure from both they ran away, leaving the gentlemen gazing after them with so much surprise, that no one had presence of mind to pursue them.

Early in the morning of the 23rd they unmoored and put to sea. Oree, the chief, was the last man who went out of the ship. At parting, the captain told him they should see each other no more, at which he wept, and said, "Let your sons come : we will treat them well." As soon as they were clear of the harbour, they made sail, and stood over for the south end of Ulietea, where they dropped anchor the next day.

On the 25th a party went ashore to pay the chief a visit, and make the customary present. At their first entering his house, they were met by four or five old women, weeping and lamenting, as it were, most bitterly, and at the same time cutting their heads with instruments made of shark's teeth, till the blood ran plentifully down their faces and on their

shoulders. What was still worse, they were obliged to submit to the embraces of these old hags, and by that means were all besmeared with blood. This ceremony being over, they went out, washed themselves, and immediately after appeared as cheerful as any of the company. The captain made his presents, and after some little stay returned on board.

On the 30th, one of the chiefs made the captain a present of two pigs. He invited them to dinner, and ordered one of the pigs to be killed and dressed, which was done as follows: the hog being placed on his back, two of them laid a pretty strong stick across his throat, and pressed with all their weight on each end; the third man held his hind legs for about ten minutes, when the animal was strangled. The hog weighed about fifty pounds; it was baked in their usual manner, and had an excellent flavour.

The captain having fixed on the 4th of June, his Majesty's birthday, for sailing, Oree, the chief, and his whole family came on board to take their farewell, accompanied by Oo-oo-rou, and several more chiefs and their friends. None came empty; but Oo-oo-rou brought a pretty large present, this being his first and only visit. The captain distributed amongst them almost everything he had left. The very hospitable manner in which he had ever been received by these people had endeared them to him, and given them a just title to everything in his power to grant. Oree pressed him to return, and when the captain declined making any promises on that head, he asked the name of his morai (burying-place). As to this strange question he hesitated not a moment to tell him Stepney, the parish in which he lived when in London. He was requested to repeat it several times over, till they could pronounce it right; then "Stepney morai no toote" was echoed through a hundred mouths at once. What greater proof could they have of these people esteeming them as friends than their wishing to remember them even beyond the grave? They had been repeatedly told that they should see them no more; they then wanted to know where they were to mingle with their parent dust.

As they could not promise, or even suppose, that more English ships would be sent to those isles, their faithful companion, Oedidee, chose to remain in his native country; but he left the ship with a regret fully demonstrative of the esteem he had for them. Just as Oedidee was going out of the ship, he asked Captain Cook to give him a paper in order to show the commanders of other ships which might stop here. He complied with his request, gave him a certificate of the time he had been with them, and recommended him to the notice of those who might touch at the island after them. On leaving the harbour they fired a salute in honour of the day.

Nothing particular happened for more than a week. On the 16th, just after sunrise, land was seen from the topmast-head. They immediately steered for it, and found it to be an island composed of five or six woody islets, connected together by sand-banks and breakers, enclosing a lake, into which they could see no entrance. The captain looked upon this as a new discovery, and named it Palmerston Island, in honour of Lord Palmerston, one of the Lords of the Admiralty. On the 20th they again saw land; and, as they drew nearer, found it to be an island of considerable extent. Perceiving some people on the shore, and landing seeming to be easy, they hoisted out the boats, with which they put off to the land, accompanied by some of the officers and gentlemen. Friendly signs were made to the natives, which were answered by menaces. All endeavours to bring them to a parley were to no purpose; for they advanced with the ferocity of wild boars, and threw their darts. Two or three muskets discharged in the air did not hinder one of them advancing still farther, and throwing another dart, which passed close over the captain's shoulder. His temerity would have cost him his life, had not the captain's musket missed fire. The conduct and aspect of these islanders occasioned the captain to name it Savages' Island. They seemed to be stout, well-made men, were naked, except round the waists, and some of them had their faces, breasts, and thighs painted black.

On the 26th of June they arrived off the coast of Rotterdam. Before they had well got to an anchor, the natives came off from all parts in canoes, bringing with them yams and shaddocks, which they exchanged for small nails and old rags. Early in the morning the captain went ashore with Mr. Gilbert, to look for fresh water, and was received with great courtesy by the natives. After they had distributed some presents amongst them, he asked for water, and was conducted to a brackish pond, about three-fourths of a mile from the landing-place, which he supposed to be the same that Tasman watered at. In the meantime, the people left in the boat had laden her with fruit and roots which the natives had brought down, and exchanged for nails and beads. In the afternoon the surgeon was robbed of his gun. As soon as the captain heard of this, he went to the place where the robbery was committed, but took no steps to recover it; in this he acknowledged he was wrong, as it encouraged further aggressions.

Early in the morning of the 28th, Lieutenant Clerke, with the master and fourteen or fifteen men, went on shore in the launch for water. He had no sooner landed than the natives gathered about him, behaving in so rude a manner that the officers were in some doubt if they should land the casks; however, they ventured, and, with difficulty, got them filled and into the boat again. While thus employed, Mr. Clerke's gun was snatched from him and carried off, as were also some of the cooper's tools and other articles. All this was done, as it were, by stealth, for they laid hold of nothing by main force. The captain landed just as the launch was ready to put off, and the natives, who were pretty numerous on the beach, as soon as they saw him fled, so that he suspected something had happened. However, he prevailed on many of them to stay. Being informed of all the preceding circumstances, he quickly came to a resolution to oblige them to make restitution, and for this purpose ordered all the marines to be armed and sent on shore. He then sent all the boats off but one, with which he remained, having a good many of the natives about him, who behaved with



their usual courtesy ; but he made them so sensible of his intention, that long before the marines came Mr. Clerke's musket was brought, though they used many excuses to divert him from insisting on the restoration of the surgeon's. At length, Mr. Edgcombe arriving with the marines, this alarmed them so much that some fled. Only one person was wounded before the musket was brought and laid down at his feet. He then ordered some canoes he had seized to be restored, to show them on what account they were detained.

On returning to go on board, Captain Cook found many people collected together, from whom he understood that the man he had fired at was dead. This story the captain treated as improbable, and addressed a man, who seemed of some consequence, for the restitution of the cooper's adze they had lost in the morning. He immediately sent away two men, as he thought, for it, but he soon found they had greatly mistaken each other, for instead of the adze they brought the wounded man, stretched out on a board, and laid him down at his feet to all appearance dead. He was much moved at the sight, but soon discovered that he was only wounded in the hand and thigh. He therefore sent for the surgeon to dress the wounds, which were not dangerous. In the meantime he addressed several people for the adze, particularly an elderly woman, who had always a great deal to say to him from his first landing ; but on this occasion she gave her tongue full scope. The captain understood but little of her eloquence ; but when she found he was determined, she and three or four more women went away, and soon after the adze was brought, but he saw her no more.

After leaving Rotterdam, or Anamooka, on the 30th, they saw the summit of Amattafoo, but not clear enough to determine with certainty whether there was a volcano or not ; but everything they could see concurred to make them believe there was one. As the captain intended to get to the south, in order to explore the land that might lie there, they continued to work between the isle of Lepers and Aurora, and on the 19th of July the last-mentioned isle bore south, distant

twenty miles. At daybreak on the 21st they found themselves before the channel that divides Whitsuntide Island from the South Land, which is above two leagues across. Having sent the armed boats to sound and look for an anchorage, the ship soon followed.

Next morning many of the natives came round them, some in canoes and others swimming. The captain soon prevailed on one to come on board, which he no sooner did than he was followed by more than he desired, so that not only the deck but the rigging was presently filled with them. He took four of them into the cabin, and gave them various articles, which they showed to those in the canoes, and seemed much pleased with their reception. While he was thus making friends with those in the cabin an accident happened, that threw all into confusion, but in the end proved advantageous. A fellow in a canoe, having been refused admittance into one of the boats that lay alongside, bent his bow to shoot a poisoned arrow at the boat-keeper ; some of his countrymen prevented his doing it that instant, and gave time to acquaint the captain with it. The fellow, however, seemed resolved, and directed his bow again at the boat-keeper ; but, on the captain calling to him, pointed it at him. Having a musket in his hand, loaded with small shot, he gave him the contents. This staggered him for a moment, but did not prevent him from holding his bow still in the attitude of shooting ; another discharge of the same nature made him drop it. At this time some began to shoot arrows on the other side. A musket discharged in the air had no effect, but a 4-pound shot fired over their heads sent them off in the utmost confusion.

Being unwilling to lose the benefit of the moonlight nights, which now happened, they weighed on the 23rd July, and quitted the harbour. When the natives saw them under sail, they came off in their canoes, making exchanges with more confidence than before, and giving extraordinary proofs of their honesty. As the ship at first had full way through the water, several of them dropped astern after they had received goods, and before they had time to deliver theirs in return.

Instead of taking advantage of this, they used their utmost efforts to get up with them, and to deliver what they had already been paid for. Pieces of cloth and marble paper were in most esteem with them, but edge-tools, nails, and beads they seemed to disregard. Had they made a longer stay, they might soon have been upon good terms with this people, who, in general, were the most ugly, ill-proportioned natives they ever saw, and in every respect different from any they had met with in this sea. They are a dark-coloured and diminutive race, with long heads, flat faces, and monkey countenances. Their hair, mostly black or brown, is short and curly, but quite as soft and woolly as that of a negro. Their beards are very strong, crisp, and bushy, and generally black and short. But what most adds to their deformity, is a belt or cord which they wear round the waist, and tie tight over the belly; the men go quite naked, except a piece of cloth or leaf used as a wrapper.

They saw but few women, and they were not less ugly than the men; their heads, faces, and shoulders are painted red. They wear a kind of petticoat; and some of them had something over their shoulders like a bag, in which they carry their children. None of them came off to the ship, and they generally kept at a distance when the ship's people were on shore. Their ornaments were ear-rings made of tortoise-shell, and bracelets. They had in their noses a piece of white stone, about an inch and a half long, formed like a bow. As signs of friendship, they present a green branch, and sprinkle water with the hand over the head.

Their weapons are clubs, spears, and bows and arrows. The former are made of hard or iron-wood. Their bows are about 4 feet long, made of a stick split down the middle, and are not circular, but bent more at one end than the other. The arrows, which are a sort of reed, are sometimes armed with a long sharp point, made of hard wood, and sometimes with a very hard point made of bone; and these points are all covered with a substance which they took for poison. Indeed, the people themselves confirmed their suspicions by making signs to them not to touch the point, and giving them

to understand that if they were pricked by it they would die. The people of Mallicollo seemed to be a different nation from any they had yet met with, and spoke a different language. The harbour, which is situated on the N.E. side of Mallicollo, the captain named Port Sandwich; it is so sheltered that no winds can disturb a ship at anchor there, and a vessel can be brought so near the shore as to cover the people who may be at work upon it.

Soon after they got to sea they stood over for Ambrym. On the 24th they reached an island near Apee, about four leagues in circuit; it is remarkable for its three high-peaked hills, which gained it that name. They now steered to the east, and having weathered Three-hills, stood for a group of small isles off the S.E. point of Apee. These were called Shepherd's Isles, in honour of Dr. Shepherd, Plumian professor of astronomy at Cambridge.

It should have been remarked that the night before they came out of Port Sandwich, two reddish fish, about the size of large bream, and not unlike them, were caught with hook and line. On these fish most of the officers and petty officers dined the next day. The night following, every one who had eaten of them were seized with violent pains in the head and bones, attended with a scorching heat all over the skin and numbness in the joints. There remained no doubt that this was occasioned by the fish being of a poisonous nature, and having communicated its bad effects to all who partook of them, even to the hogs and dogs. One of the former died about sixteen hours after, and soon one of the latter shared the same fate, and it was a week or ten days before all the gentlemen recovered. These must have been the same sort of fish mentioned by Quiros under the name of pargos, which poisoned the crews of his ships so that it was some time before they recovered. And they would doubtless have suffered equally had more fish been eaten.

Continuing their course to the south, they drew near the southern lands, which they found to consist of one large island, whose southern and western extremities extended beyond their sight, and three or four smaller ones lying off its

north side. The two northernmost are much the largest, and are a good height, and lie in the direction of E. by S. and W. by N. from each other, distant two leagues. They named the one Montagu and the other Hinchinbrook, and the large island Sandwich, in honour of the Earl of Sandwich.

As they passed Hinchinbrook Isle, several people came to the sea-side, and by signs seemed to invite them ashore. Some were also seen on Sandwich Island, which exhibited a most delightful prospect, being diversified with woods and lawns.

On the 3rd of August they found themselves abreast of a lofty promontory ; and early next morning the captain went with two boats to examine the coast and look for a proper landing-place, as well as wood and water. At this time the natives began to assemble on the shore, and by signs invited them to land. The captain went first to a small beach, where he found no good landing. Some of the natives who were there offered to haul the boats over the breakers to the sandy beach, which was thought a friendly offer, but they had reason afterwards to alter their opinion. They put into the shore in two or three places, but not liking the situation, did not land. By this time the natives conceived what they wanted, as they directed the boat round a rocky point, where, on a fine sandy beach, the captain stepped out of the boat without wetting his feet, in the face of a vast multitude, having only a green branch in his hand. They received him with great courtesy and politeness, and would retire back from the boat on his making the least motion with his hand. A man whom he took to be a chief, seeing this, made them form a semicircle round the boat's bow, and beat such as attempted to break through this order. This man he loaded with presents, giving some likewise to others, and asked by signs for fresh water, in hopes of seeing where they got it. The chief immediately sent a man for some, who ran to a house, and presently returned with a little in a bamboo ; so that he gained but little information by this. He next asked, by the same means, for something to eat, and they as readily brought him a yam and some cocoa-nuts. In short, he was

charmed with their behaviour, and the only thing that could excite the least suspicion was, that most of them were armed with clubs, spears, darts, bows, and arrows. For this reason the captain kept his eye continually upon the chief, and watched his looks as well as his actions. He made many signs to have the boat upon the shore, and at last slipped into the crowd, where he observed him speak to several people, and then return repeating signs to haul the boat up, and hesitating a good deal before he would receive some spike-nails that were then offered him. This made the captain suspect something was intended, and immediately he stepped into the boat, telling them by signs that he should soon return. But they were not willing to part so soon, and now attempted by force what they could not obtain by gentler means.

As the sailors were shoving off the boat, they laid hold of the gang-board, and unhooked it off the boat's stern; but as they did not take it away, it was thought that this had been done by accident, and he ordered the boat in again to take it up. Then the natives hooked it over the boat's stern, and attempted to haul her ashore; others at the same time snatched the oars out of the people's hands. On pointing a musket at them, they, in some measure, desisted, but returned in an instant, seemingly determined to effect their purpose.

At the head of this party was their chief. Signs and threats having no effect, then safety became the only consideration. The captain was unwilling to fire on the multitude, and resolved to make the chief alone fall a victim to his own treachery; but his musket at this critical moment missed fire. Whatever idea they might have formed of their arms, the natives must now have looked upon them as childish weapons, and began to let them see how much better theirs were by throwing stones and darts and by shooting arrows. This made it absolutely necessary to give orders to fire. The first discharge threw them into confusion, but a second was hardly sufficient to drive them off the beach. Four lay to all appearance dead on the shore, but two of them after-

wards crawled into the bushes. Happy it was for these people that not half the muskets would go off, otherwise many more must have fallen. One sailor was wounded in the cheek with a dart, the point of which was as thick as a little finger; and yet it entered above two inches, which shows that it must have been hurled with great force. An arrow struck Mr. Gilbert's naked breast; but coming from some distance, it hardly penetrated the skin. These arrows were pointed with hard wood.

As soon as they got on board the captain ordered the anchor to be weighed. While this was doing, several people appeared on the low rocky point, displaying two oars they had lost in the scuffle. This was supposed to be a sign of submission, and of their wanting to give them the oars. He, nevertheless, fired a 4-pound shot at them, to let them see the effect of their great guns. The ball fell short, but frightened them so much, that none were seen afterwards, and they left the oars standing against the bushes. These islanders seemed to be a different race from those of Mallicollo, and spoke a different language. They are of the middle size, are well made, and have tolerably regular features. Their colour is very dark, and they paint their faces, some with black and others with red pigment. They saw a few women, who wore a kind of petticoat made of palm leaves, or some plant like it. But the men, like those of Mallicollo, were almost naked, having only the belt about the waist, and the piece of cloth or leaf used as a wrapper.

In the night of the 5th of August they saw a volcano which they observed to throw up vast quantities of fire and smoke, with a rumbling noise heard at a great distance. They made sail for the island whence it appeared, and soon discovered a small inlet, which had the appearance of a good harbour. The wind falling, they dropped anchor in four fathoms of water. After this the boats were sent to sound. Many of the natives now got together in parties on several parts of the shore, all armed; some swam off to them, others came in canoes. At first they were shy and kept at a distance, but gradually grew bolder, and at last came under their stern

and made some exchanges. The people in one of the first canoes, after coming as near as they durst, threw towards them some cocoa-nuts. The captain went into a boat and picked them up, giving them in return some cloth and other articles. This induced others to come under the stern, and alongside, where their behaviour was insolent and daring. They wanted to carry off everything within their reach, and got hold of the fly of the ensign, and would have torn it from the staff. A few muskets fired in the air had no effect; but a 4-pounder frightened them so much that they quitted their canoes that instant and took to the water. However, as soon as they found themselves unhurt, they got again into their canoes, gave some halloos, flourished their weapons, and were only dispersed by the discharge of some musquetoon balls.

Towards the evening Captain Cook landed at the head of the harbour, with a strong party of men, without any opposition being made by a great number of natives who were assembled in two parties, the one on the right, the other on the left, all armed. After distributing presents of cloth, medals, and other articles, he ordered two casks to be filled with water out of a pond about twenty paces behind the landing-place, giving the natives to understand that this was one of the articles they wanted. Besides water, they got from them a few cocoa-nuts, which seemed to be in plenty on the trees; but they could not be prevailed upon to part with any of their weapons. While they were bringing the ship near the shore to wood and water, they observed the natives assembling from all parts, and forming themselves into two parties, as they did the preceding evening, one on each side the landing-place, to the amount of some thousands, armed as before. A canoe now and then came off, bringing a few cocoa-nuts and plantains. The captain made an old man understand by signs that they were to lay aside their weapons, and throwing those that were in the canoe overboard, made him a present of a large piece of cloth. There was no doubt that he understood him, and made his request known to his countrymen; for as soon as he landed, they



observed him go first to the one party and then to the other ; nor was he ever after seen with anything like a weapon in his hand. After this, three fellows came in a canoe under the stern, one of them brandishing a club, with which he struck the ship's side, and committed other acts of defiance, but at last offered to exchange it for a string of beads and some other trifles. These were sent down to him by a line ; but the moment they were in his possession, he and his companion paddled off in haste, without giving the club in return. This is what the captain expected, and, indeed, what he was not sorry for, as he wanted an opportunity to show the multitude on shore the effect of their firearms without materially hurting any of them. Having a fowling-piece loaded with small-shot, he gave the fellow the contents ; and when they were above musket-shot off, he ordered some of the musqueteers to be fired, which alarmed them much. This transaction, however, had little or no impression on the people there ; on the contrary, they began to halloo and to make sport of it.

After mooring the ship, and placing the artillery in such a manner as to command the whole harbour, Captain Cook embarked with the marines and a party of seamen, in three boats, and rowed in for the shore. It has been already mentioned that the two divisions of the natives were drawn up on each side of the landing-place. They had left a space between them of about twenty yards, in which were laid to the most advantage a few small bunches of plantains, a yam, and two or three roots. The old man before mentioned, and two more, invited them by signs to land ; but to prevent treachery the captain ordered a musket to be fired over the party on the right, which was by far the strongest body. Though the alarm it gave them was momentary, they quickly recovered themselves, and began to display their weapons. The ship now fired a few great guns, which presently dispersed them ; when the party landed and marked out the limits, on the right and left, by a line. The natives came gradually to them, seemingly in a friendly manner, some even without their weapons, though by far the greater part retained them,

and when they made signs to lay them down, gave the English to understand that they must lay down theirs first. Thus all parties stood armed; many seemed afraid to touch what belonged to the visitors, and they seemed to have no notion of exchanging one thing for another. The captain took the old man to the woods, and made him understand that he wanted to cut down some trees to take on board the ship. Paowang, as he was called, very readily gave his consent to cut wood, nor was there anyone who made the least objection. Having landed again, they loaded the launch with water, and after making three hauls with the seine, caught upwards of three hundred pounds of mullet and other fish. It was some time before any of the natives appeared, and not above twenty or thirty at last, amongst whom was their trusty friend, Paowang, who made them a present of a small pig, which was the only one they got at this island.

During the night the volcano, which was about four miles to the west, vomited up vast quantities of fire and smoke, as it had done the night before, and the flames were seen above the intervening hill. At every eruption it made a long rumbling noise like that of thunder, or the blowing up of large mines. A heavy shower of rain which fell at this time seemed to increase it, and the wind blowing from the same quarter, the air was loaded with its ashes; these were of the nature of fine sand, or stone ground or burnt to powder, and were exceedingly troublesome to the eyes.

Early in the morning of the 7th the natives began again to assemble near the watering-place, armed as usual, but not in such numbers as on the first occasion. On landing they found many of the islanders much inclined to be friends, especially the old people; on the other hand, most of the younger were daring and insolent, and obliged them to stand to their arms. The captain stayed till he saw no disturbance was likely to happen, and then returned to the ship, leaving the party under the command of Lieutenants Clerke and Edgcombe. On the 9th Mr. Foster learnt from the people the proper name of the island, which they call Tanna. They gave them to understand, in a manner which appeared to

admit of no doubt, that they were cannibals. They began the subject of eating human flesh of their own accord, by asking if the English did. One of the men employed in taking in ballast scalded his fingers in removing a stone out of some water; this circumstance produced the discovery of several hot springs at the foot of the cliff, and rather below high-water mark. During the nights of the 10th and 11th the volcano was exceedingly active, and made a terrible noise, throwing up prodigious columns of fire and smoke at each explosion, which happened every three or four minutes, and at one time great stones were seen high in the air. Mr. Foster and his party went up the hill on the west side of the harbour, where he found three places whence smoke of a sulphureous smell issued through cracks or fissures in the earth. The ground about these was exceedingly hot and parched or burnt; at every explosion of the volcano the quantity of smoke or steam in these fissures was greatly increased, and forced out so as to rise in small columns, which were seen from the ship. In the afternoon, Mr. Foster having begun his botanical researches on the other side of the harbour, fell in with Paowang's house, where he saw most of the articles the captain had given him hanging on the adjoining trees and bushes, as if they were not worthy of being under his roof.

On the morning of the 14th a party set out for the country, to try if they could not get a nearer and better view of the volcano. The place affected by the heat was not above eight or ten yards square; and near it were some fig trees, which spread their branches over a part of the space. It was thought that this extraordinary heat was caused by the steam of boiling water, strongly impregnated with sulphur. They proceeded up the hill through a country so covered with trees, shrubs, and plants, that the bread-fruit and cocoa-nut trees, which seem to have been planted here by nature, were almost choked up. Here and there they met with a house, some few people, and plantations. These latter they found in different states; some of long standing, and others lately cleared, and some only clearing. Happening to turn out of

the common path, they came into a plantation where they found a man at work, who undertook to be their guide. They followed him, but had not gone far before they came to the junction of two roads, in one of which stood another man with a sling and a stone, which he thought proper to lay down when a musket was pointed at him. The attitude in which they found him, the ferocity of his looks, and his subsequent behaviour, convinced them that he meant to defend the path he stood in. He, in some measure, gained his point, for the guide took the other road, and they followed, but not without suspecting he was leading them out of the direct way. The other man went with them, likewise counting them several times over, and hallooing, as it appeared, for assistance; for they were presently joined by two or three more, among whom was a young woman with a club in her hand. By these people they were conducted to the brow of a hill, and shown a road leading down to the harbour, which they wanted them to take. Not choosing to comply, they returned to that they had left, which they pursued alone, their guide refusing to go with them. After ascending another ridge, as thickly covered with wood as those they had come over, they saw yet other hills between them and the volcano, which seemed as far off as at their first setting out. This discouraged them from proceeding farther, especially as they could get no one to be their guide. They therefore came to a resolution to return, and had but just put this in execution, when they were met by between twenty and thirty people, whom the fellow before-mentioned had collected together, with a design, no doubt, to oppose their advancing into the country.

In the evening, Captain Cook took a walk with some of the gentlemen into the country on the other side of the harbour, where they had very different treatment from what they had met with in the morning. The people they now visited, among whom was their friend Paowang, being better acquainted with them, showed a readiness to oblige them in everything in their power. They came to a village consisting of about twenty houses, the most of which might be

compared to the roof of a thatched house in England, taken off the walls, and placed on the ground. Some were open at both ends, others partly closed with reeds ; and all were covered with palm thatch. A few of them were thirty or forty feet long and fourteen or sixteen broad.

On the 15th, having finished taking in water, a few hands only were on shore making brooms, the rest being employed on board setting up the rigging and putting the ship in a condition for sea. Mr. Foster, in his botanical excursions, shot a pigeon, in the craw of which was a wild nutmeg. He took some pains to find the tree, but his endeavours were without success.

On the 17th of July Captain Cook went on shore to pay a visit to an old chief who was said to be king of the island. Paowang took little or no notice of this man, and upon the captain making him a present, he immediately went away, as if he had got all he came for. His name was Geogy, and they gave him the title of Areeke. He was very old, but had a merry open countenance. He wore round his waist a broad red and white chequered belt ; but this was hardly a mark of distinction.

Next day the captain went ashore again, and found in the crowd old Geogy and a son of his, who soon made him understand that they wanted to dine with him. Accordingly he brought them and two more on board, and conducted them all over the ship, which they viewed with great surprise and attention. They happened to have for their entertainment a kind of a pie or pudding made of plantains, and some sort of greens which they had obtained from one of the natives. On this, and on yams, they made a hearty dinner. In the afternoon, each of them having received a present of a hatchet and spike-nail and some medals, they were conducted on shore.

On the 19th the captain, finding a good number of the natives collected about the landing-place as usual, distributed among them all the articles he had with him, and then went on board for more. In less than an hour he returned, just as the people were getting some large logs into

the boat. At the same time four or five of the natives stepped forward to see what they were about, and as they did not allow them to come within certain limits, unless to pass along the beach, the sentry ordered them back, which they readily complied with. At this time Captain Cook, having his eyes fixed on them, observed the sentry present his piece, and was just going to reprove him for it, when, to his unmeasured astonishment, the sentry fired.

At this outrage most of the people fled. As they ran off, Captain Cook observed one man fall, when he was immediately lifted up by two others, who took him into the water, washed his wound, and then led him off. Soon after some men came and described to the captain the nature of the wound, upon which he sent for the surgeon. As soon as he arrived the captain went with him to the man, whom they found expiring. The ball had struck his left arm, which was much shattered, and then entered his body by the short ribs, one of which was broken.

The sentry who fired pretended that a man had laid an arrow across his bow and was going to shoot at him ; but this was no more than they had always done, and with no other view than to show they were armed also ; at least there was reason to think so, as they never went farther. This affair threw the natives into the utmost consternation, and the few that were prevailed on to stay, ran to the plantations and brought cocoa-nuts and other fruits, which they laid down at their feet as a peace-offering. When the captain went on board to dinner, they all retired, and only a few appeared in the afternoon, among whom was Paowang. He promised to bring fruit the next morning, but their early departure put it out of his power.

These people had not the least knowledge of iron, and cloth would be of no use to them, as they went naked. Hogs, which were plentiful, and some few fowls, are the only domestic animals they have. Land birds are not more numerous than at Otaheite and the other islands ; but they met with some small birds of very beautiful plumage, which they had never seen before. Captain Cook neither saw any sort of fishing-

tackle amongst them, nor any one out fishing, except on the shoals, or along the shores of the harbour, where they would watch to strike with a dart such fish as came within their reach ; and in this they were expert. They seemed much to admire the European manner of catching fish with a seine. These people are of the middle size, rather slender than otherwise ; and most of them have good features and agreeable countenances. They never assisted the Europeans in any work they were engaged in, and made the females perform the most laborious duties. A woman has been seen carrying a large bundle under her arm, and a fellow strutting before her, with nothing but a club, or spear, or some such thing. Both sexes are of a very dark colour, but not black ; nor have they the least characteristic of the negro about them. They use pigments of black, red, and brown, which they lay on with a liberal hand, not only on the face, but on the neck, shoulders, and breast. The men wear nothing but a belt and a wrapping leaf. The women have a kind of petticoat, made of the filaments of the plantain tree, flags, or some such thing, which reaches below the knee. Both sexes wear ornaments, such as bracelets, ear-rings, necklaces, and amulets.

On the 20th of August the *Resolution* put to sea, standing to the eastward. Nothing material occurred till the 4th of September, when looking S.E., the coast seemed to terminate in a high promontory, which the captain named Cape Colnet after one of his midshipmen, who first discovered this land. On the following day some gaps or openings were seen along the coast, and after running two leagues down the outside of the reef, they came to an opening that had the appearance of a good channel. With the view of landing to observe the eclipse of the sun, which was about to happen, they hoisted out two armed boats, and sent them to sound the channel ; ten or twelve large sailing canoes, which they had observed coming off from the shore all the morning, from different parts, being then near them. The boats having made a signal for a channel they stood in. They had hardly got to an anchor before they were surrounded by a great number of the natives, in sixteen or eighteen canoes, most of whom were without

weapons. At first they were shy of coming near the ship; but in a short time the people in one boat were prevailed upon to get close enough to receive some presents. They were lowered down to them by a rope, to which in return they tied two fish, which smelt intolerably. These mutual exchanges bringing on a kind of confidence, two ventured on board the ship; and presently after she was filled with them, and they had the company of several at dinner in the cabin. Like all the natives they had lately seen, the men were almost naked. They were curious in examining every part of the ship, which they viewed with uncommon attention. They had not the least knowledge of goats, hogs, dogs, or cats, and had not even a name for one of them. They seemed fond of large spike-nails and pieces of red cloth, or indeed any other colour, but red was their favourite.

After dinner the captain went on shore with two armed boats, accompanied by one of the natives, who had attached himself to him. They landed on a sandy beach, before a vast number of people, who had assembled with no other intent than to see them, for many of them had not a stick in their hands; the Englishmen were received with great courtesy, and with many expressions of surprise. The captain made presents to all those his new friend pointed out, who were either old men or such as seemed to be of some note; but he took not the least notice of a few women who stood behind the crowd, keeping back the captain's hand when he was going to give them some beads and medals. Here they found a chief, whose name was Teabooma, and they had only been on shore ten minutes when he called for silence. Being instantly obeyed by every individual present, he made a short speech; and soon after another chief, having called for silence, made a speech also. It was pleasing to see with what attention they were heard. Their speeches were composed of short sentences, to each of which two or three old men answered by nodding their heads and giving a grunt of approval. It was impossible for our countrymen to know the purport of these speeches, but they had reason to think they were favourable to them. On inquiring for water, the



natives conducted them about two miles round the coast to a little straggling village near some mangroves, where they landed and were shown fresh water. The ground near this village was finely cultivated, being laid out in plantations of sugar-canes, plantains, yams, and other roots. They heard the crowing of cocks but saw none. As they proceeded up the creek, Mr. Foster having shot a duck flying over their heads, which was the first use these people saw made of firearms, the native whom Captain Cook distinguished by the name of his friend, begged to have it, and when he landed told his countrymen in what manner it was killed. The day being far spent, they took leave of the people and got on board a little after sunset.

Next morning they were visited by some hundreds of the natives, so that before ten o'clock their decks, and all other parts of the ship, were quite full. The captain's friend, who was of the number, brought him a few roots, and some of the others had with them their arms, such as clubs and darts, which they exchanged for nails, pieces of cloth, and other articles. Next day, Mr. Wales, accompanied by Lieutenant Clerke, went to make preparations for observing the eclipse of the sun, which was to happen in the afternoon.

On the 8th the captain received a message acquainting him that Teabooma the chief was come with a present consisting of a few yams and sugar-canes. In return he sent him, among other articles, a couple of dogs, both young, but nearly full grown. Early next morning Lieutenant Pickersgill and Mr. Gilbert were sent with the launch and cutter to explore the coast to the west.

On the evening of the 11th the boats returned; the cutter having nearly been lost by suddenly filling with water, which obliged them to throw several things overboard before they could free her and stop the leak. From a fishing-canoe which they met coming in from the reefs, they got as much fish as they could eat, and they were received by Teabi, the chief of the isle of Bolabea, with great courtesy. In order not to be too much crowded, they drew a line on the ground, and gave the natives to understand that they were not to come

within it. This restriction they observed, and one of them soon afterwards turned it to his own advantage, for, happening to have a few cocoa-nuts which one of the sailors wanted to buy, he walked off and was followed by the man who wanted them. On seeing this he sat down on the sand, made a line round him as he had seen them do, and signified that the other was not to come within it, which was accordingly observed.

On the afternoon of the 12th the captain went on shore, and on a large tree, which stood close to the shore near the watering-place, had an inscription cut, setting forth the ship's name, date, and other particulars, as a testimony of their having been the first discoverers of this island. This being done, they took leave of the natives, and returned on board, when all the boats were hoisted in, in order to be ready to put to sea in the morning.

The people of the island are strong, robust, active, and well made; they are also courteous and friendly, and not in the least addicted to pilfering, which is more than can be said of any other people in this sea. They are nearly of the same colour as the natives of Tanna, but have better features, more agreeable countenances, and are a much stouter race: a few being seen who measured six feet four inches. Their hair and beards are in general black. The former is very much frizzled, so that at first sight it appears like that of a negro. Their only covering is a wrapper, made generally of the bark of a tree, but sometimes of leaves. The small pieces of cloth and paper which they got, were generally applied to this use. Some had a kind of concave, cylindrical, stiff black cap, which appeared to be a great ornament among them, and were only worn by men of note or warriors. Their houses, or, at least, most of them, are circular, and something like a beehive. The entrance is by a small door, or long square hole, just big enough to admit a man bent double. In most of them they found two fireplaces, and as there was no vent for the smoke but the door, the whole house was both smoky and hot, rendering it unendurable. They have no great variety of household utensils, earthen

jars being the only article worth notice. Each family has at least one of them, in which they bake their roots and, perhaps, their fish. They subsist chiefly on roots and fish, and the bark of a tree, which they roast, and are almost continually chewing. Water is their only liquor. Nature has been less bountiful to this than to any other tropical island known in this sea, the greater part of its surface consisting of barren, rocky mountains; nevertheless, there are several plants common to the eastern and northern islands, and every day brought to light something new in botany or some other branches of natural history.

All their endeavours to get the name of the whole island proved ineffectual, for, upon making inquiry, the people gave them the name of some district or place; hence Captain Cook imagines that the country is divided into several districts, each governed by a chief; Balade was the name of the district they were at, and Teabooma the chief. Tea seems to be a title prefixed to the names of all, or most of their chiefs and great men. The captain was, by one of their great men, called Tea Cook. Their fishing implements are turtle nets, made of the filaments of the plantain tree twisted, and small hand nets with very minute meshes, made of fine twine. Everything being in readiness to put to sea, at sunrise on the 13th of September they weighed anchor.

Nothing remarkable occurred till the evening of the 28th, when two low islets were seen bearing W. by S., and as they were connected by breakers, it became necessary to haul off, in order to get clear of them. Soon after more breakers appeared, extending from the low isles to a great distance. They spent the night in making short boards, under the terrible apprehension, every moment, of falling on some of the dangers which surrounded them. Daylight showed that their fears were not ill-founded, and that they had been in the most imminent danger, having had breakers continually under their lee, and at a very little distance from them. They owed their safety to the interposition of Providence, a good look-out, and the brisk manner in which the ship was managed, an officer "conning" her from the mast-head.

With great difficulty they arrived within a mile of land, and having anchored in twenty-nine fathoms of water, hoisted out a boat, in which the captain went ashore, accompanied by the botanists. Here they found several tall trees, which had been observed before at a considerable distance ; they appeared to be a kind of spruce pine, very suitable for spars, of which they were in want. After making this discovery, they hastened on board, in order to give more time after dinner, when they landed again in the boats, to cut down such trees as were wanting. This little isle upon which they landed was a mere sand-bank, not exceeding three-fourths of a mile in circuit, and on it, besides these pines, grew the Etos tree of Otaheite ; also a variety of trees, shrubs, and plants. These gave sufficient employment to the botanists all the time they stayed upon it, and occasioned the captain's calling it Botany Isle. Several fireplaces with branches and leaves, very little decayed, showed that people had lately been on the isle. The hull of a canoe also lay wrecked in the sand. Having got ten or twelve small spars to make studding-sail booms, boats, masts, &c., and night approaching, they returned on board.

The purpose for which they anchored under this isle being answered, it was necessary to consider what was next to be done. They had, from the topmast-head, taken a view of the sea around, and observed the whole, to the west, to be strewed with small islets, sand-banks, and breakers, to the utmost extent of their horizon. This induced the captain to try to get without the shoals.

Next morning, at daybreak, the 30th of September, they got under sail, and met with no occurrences worthy of remark for several days. In the evening of the 8th of October, Mr. Cooper having struck a porpoise with a harpoon, it was necessary to bring to and lower the boats before they could kill it and get it on board. It was six feet long, and had eighty-eight teeth in each jaw. The flesh was first soaked in warm water, and then roasted, boiled, and fried. Indeed, little preparation was necessary to make anything fresh and palatable to people who had been living so long on salt meat.

On the 10th, at daybreak, they discovered land, bearing S.W., which on a nearer approach they found to be an island of good elevation, and five leagues in circuit. It was named Norfolk Isle, in honour of the noble family of Howard. After dinner a party embarked in two boats and landed without difficulty behind some large rocks which lined part of the coast. They found it uninhabited, and were, undoubtedly, the first that ever set foot on it. They observed several trees and plants common to New Zealand, and in particular the flax plant, which is rather more luxuriant here than in any part of that country; but the chief produce is a species of spruce, resembling the Quebec pine, which grows in abundance, and to a large size, being as thick, breast high, as two men could embrace, and exceedingly straight and tall. For about 200 yards from the shore the ground is covered so thick with shrubs and plants as to be almost impenetrable. The woods were perfectly clear and free from underwood, and the soil seemed rich and deep. They found the same kind of pigeons, parrots, and parroquets as in New Zealand, also rails and some small birds. The sea-fowl breed undisturbed on the shores and in the cliffs of the rocks. On the isle is fresh water, and cabbage palm, wood sorrel, sow thistle, and samphire abound in some places on the shore; they brought on board as much of each sort as the limited time at their disposal would permit.

After leaving Norfolk Isle they steered for New Zealand, intending to touch at Queen Charlotte's Sound to refresh the crew, and place the ship in a condition to encounter the southern latitudes. On the 17th, at daybreak, they saw Mount Egmont, which was covered with perennial snow. On the 18th they anchored before Ship Cove, and in the afternoon Captain Cook went into the Cove with the seine to try and catch some fish. The first thing he did after landing was to look for the bottle he had left when last here, in which was the memorandum. It was taken away, but by whom it did not appear. The hauls with the seine producing only four small fish, they in some measure made up for this deficiency by shooting several birds. There being little wind

next morning they weighed, and warped the ship into the cove, and there moored. Here the forge was erected, and the ship and rigging repaired. The captain gave orders that vegetables should be boiled every morning, with oatmeal and portable broth, for breakfast, and with peas and broth every day for dinner, for the whole crew, over and above their usual allowance of salt meat. In the afternoon, as Mr. Wales was setting up his observatory, he discovered that several trees, which were standing when they last sailed from that place, had been cut down with saws and axes. It was, therefore, now no longer to be doubted that the *Adventure* had been in this cove after they left it.

Nothing remarkable happened till the 24th, when, in the morning, two canoes were seen coming down the Sound ; but as soon as its occupants perceived the ship they retired. After breakfast they went in a boat to look for them, and as they proceeded along the shore shot several birds. The report of the muskets gave notice of their approach, and the natives discovered themselves in Shag Cove by hallooing to them. The moment they landed the natives knew them, and the rest hurried out of the woods and embraced them over and over again, leaping and skipping about like madmen ; but it was observed that they would not suffer some women, whom they saw at a distance, to come near them. After they had made them presents of hatchets, knives, and what else they had with them, the natives gave in return a large quantity of fish, which they had just caught. Next morning early, the inhabitants paid them a visit on board, and brought with them a quantity of fine fish, which they exchanged for Otaheitean cloth. On the 28th a party went shooting to West Bay, and came to the place where they left the hogs and fowls, but saw no vestiges of them, nor of any body having been there since. In the evening they brought on board about a dozen and a half of wild fowl, and the sportsmen, who had been out in the woods near the ship, were most successful among the small birds.

On the 6th of November, their old friends having taken up their abode near them, one named Pedro (a man of some

note) made the captain a present of a staff of honour, such as the chiefs generally carry. In return, he dressed him in a suit of old clothes, of which he was not a little proud. Having got this person and another into a communicative mood, he began to inquire of them if the *Adventure* had been there during his absence ; and they gave him to understand, in a manner which admitted of no doubt, that soon after they were gone, she arrived, and, after a stay of between ten and twenty days, had left ten months before. On the 8th they put the pigs on shore, in the cove next to Cannibal Cove, for the purpose of stocking the country. On the 9th, the natives having brought a very seasonable supply of fish, the captain presented Pedro with an empty oil-jar, which made him as happy as a prince. In the afternoon a party went on shore into one of the coves, where were two families of the natives variously employed ; some sleeping, some making mats, some roasting fish and fire-roots, and one girl was busy heating stones. As soon as the stones were hot, she took them out of the fire, and gave them to an old woman sitting in a hut, who placed them in a heap, laid over them a handful of green celery, and over that a coarse mat, and then squatted herself down on her heels on the top of all ; thus making a kind of Dutch warming-pan, on which she sat as close as a hare on her seat. The captain thought it was to cure some disorder she might have on her, which the steam arising from the green celery might be a specific for.

On the 10th of November they took their farewell of New Zealand, and steered for Cape Campbell. Captain Cook's intention now was to cross this vast ocean, so as to pass over those parts which were left unexplored in the preceding summer. On Saturday, the 17th of December, they made the land, about six leagues distant. On this discovery, they wore and brought to with the ship's head to the south ; and having sounded, found seventy-five fathoms of water, the bottom stone and shells. The land now before them could be no other than the west coast of Terra del Fuego, and near the west entrance of the straits of Magellan. This was the first run they had made directly across the ocean, in a high

southern latitude. The captain says he never made a passage anywhere of such length where so few interesting circumstances occurred ; for, the variation of the compass excepted, he met with nothing else worth notice. Here they took leave of the South Pacific Ocean.

On the 18th of December, as they continued sailing along, with the coast about two leagues distant, they passed a projecting point which was called Cape Gloucester. On the 20th, at noon, they observed York Minster, then five leagues distant. At ten o'clock a breeze springing up at E. by S., they took this opportunity to stand in for the land and to recruit their stock of wood and water, and take a closer view of the country. Having found plenty of wood and water, they set about doing what was necessary to the ship, the outside of which had become very foul. During the night a melancholy accident befell one of the marines, who was supposed to have fallen overboard out of the head, where he had been last seen.

On the 23rd Mr. Pickersgill was sent in the cutter to explore the east side of the sound, with an intent to survey the island under which they were at anchor, which the captain called Shag Island. About seven in the evening he returned, and reported that the land opposite to their station was an island, and that between it and the east head lay a cove in which were many geese. This information induced them to make up two shooting-parties next day, Mr. Pickersgill and his associates going in the cutter, and the captain and the botanists in the pinnace. Mr. Pickersgill went in one direction and the captain in another, and they had sport enough among the geese, whence this was called Goose Island. There being a high surf, they found great difficulty in landing, and very bad climbing over the rocks when they were landed, so that hundreds of geese escaped, some into the sea, and others up into the land. They, however, succeeded in bagging sixty-two, with which they returned on board, all heartily tired. Mr. Pickersgill and his associates had got on board some time before with fourteen geese, which were distributed among the whole crew, and were most



acceptable, on account of the approaching festival, as without the geese their Christmas cheer must have been salt beef and pork.

The next morning, the 25th, some of the natives paid them a visit. They are a little, ugly, half-starved, beardless race, and were almost naked, their only clothing being a seal-skin. They had with them bows and arrows, and darts, or rather harpoons, made of bone, and fitted to a staff. Their persons and everything they wore smelt most intolerably of train oil. The women and children remained in their canoes, which were made of bark, and each contained a fire, over which the poor creatures huddled together. They likewise carry in their canoes large seal hides, to shelter them when at sea, and to serve as coverings to their huts on shore, and occasionally to be used as sails. The natives all retired before dinner—indeed, no one invited them to stay, as their dirty persons were enough to spoil the appetite of any European, which would have been a real disappointment to the ship's company who had not experienced such fare for some time. Roast and boiled geese, and goose pie, was a treat little known to them; and they had yet some Madeira wine left, which was the only article of consumption that was improved by keeping, so that their friends in England did not, perhaps, celebrate Christmas more cheerfully than they did. In commemoration of the day this place was named Christmas Sound. Next day the natives paid another visit, and it being distressing to see them stand trembling and naked on the deck, the captain humanely gave them some baize and old canvas to cover themselves. The wild fowl consist of geese, ducks, shags, and a kind of duck, called by the sailors racehorses, on account of the great swiftness with which they run on the water, for they cannot fly, their wings being too short to support the body in the air. The geese, too, are much smaller than the English tame geese, but eat as well. They have short black bills and yellow feet; the gander is all white, the female spotted black and white, or grey, with a large spot on each wing. Captain Cook was of opinion that of all the nations he had seen these people seemed to be the most

wretched. They are doomed to live in one of the most inhospitable climates in the world, without having sagacity enough to provide themselves with such conveniences as may render life, in some measure, more comfortable.

On the 28th they weighed and stood out to sea, resuming their course to the east, and the next day passed Cape Horn, and entered the South Atlantic Ocean. From Cape Horn they stood over for Success Bay, assisted by the currents, which set to the north. Before this they had hoisted their colours and fired two guns, and soon after saw smoke rise out of the woods above the south point of the bay, supposed to be from a native encampment. As soon as they got off the bay, Lieutenant Pickersgill went to see if any traces remained of the *Adventure*, but he saw not the least signs of any ship having been there lately. The captain had inscribed the ship's name on a card, which he nailed to a tree at the place where the *Endeavour* watered. In the morning, at three o'clock, they bore up for the east end of Staten Land, where they arrived in the afternoon of the following day. After dinner they hoisted out three boats, and landed with a large party of men ; some to kill seals, others to catch or kill birds, fish, or whatever came in their way. To find the former it mattered not where they landed, for the whole shore was covered with them ; and by the noise they made, one would have thought the island was stocked with cows and calves. On landing they found they were a different animal from seals, but in shape and motion exactly resembling them. The sailors called them lions, on account of the great resemblance the male had to that beast. Here were also the same kind of seals which they found in New Zealand, generally known by the name of sea-bears ; at least, they gave them that name. They were in general so tame, or rather stupid, as to suffer the sailors to come near enough to knock them down with sticks ; but the larger ones were shot, as it was not thought safe to approach them. They also found on the island penguins, shags, geese, and ducks, some birds of prey, and a few small birds. In the evening they returned on board with plenty of spoil.

Next day, being the 1st of January, 1775, finding that nothing was wanting but a good harbour to make this a tolerable place for ships, which chance or design might bring hither to recruit, Mr. Gilbert went over to Staten Land in the cutter, to look for a good harbour. The captain also sent two other boats, which returned laden with sea-lions and sea-bears. The old lions and sea-bears were killed, chiefly for the sake of their blubber or fat, to make oil of; for, except their haslets, which were tolerable, the flesh was too rank to be eaten with any degree of relish. But the young cubs were very palatable; and even the flesh of some of the old lionesses was not indifferent. About ten o'clock, Mr. Gilbert returned from Staten Land, where he found a good port situated three leagues to the westward of Cape St. John. It is almost two miles in length, and in some places nearly a mile broad. On this island were sea-lions and seals, and such a quantity of gulls, as to darken the air when disturbed. In honour of the day on which this port was discovered, Captain Cook called it New Year's Harbour.

The sea-lions found here were not of the kind described under the same name by Lord Anson; but these would more properly deserve that appellation, the long hair with which the back of the head, the neck, and shoulders are covered, giving them greatly the air and appearance of a lion. The female is not half so big as the male, and is covered with short hair, of an ash or light dun colour. They live, as it were, in herds, on the rocks and near the sea-shore. The sea-bears are not nearly so large as the lions, but rather larger than a common seal. They have no mane, their hair being all of an equal length, and finer than that of the lion, and of an iron-grey colour. It was not at all dangerous to go among them, for they either fled or lay still. The only danger was, in going between them and the sea, for, if they took fright at anything, they would come down in such numbers, that, if you could not get out of their way, you would be run over. The oceanic birds are gulls, tern, Port Egmont hens, and a large brown bird of the size of an albatross, which the sailors called Mother Carey's geese, and

found them pretty good eating. The land birds were eagles, or hawks, bald-headed vultures, or what the sailors called turkey buzzards, thrushes, and a few other small birds. It excited Captain Cook's astonishment to see how amicably the different animals which inhabit this place lived together. The sea-lions occupy most of the coast ; the sea-bears take up their abode in the isle ; the shags have post in the highest cliffs ; the penguins fix their quarters where there is the most easy communication with the sea ; and the other birds choose more retired places. Captain Cook says he has seen these animals mix together like domestic cattle and poultry in a farm-yard, without one attempting to molest the other. Having left the land on the evening of the 3rd, they saw it again next morning, bearing west.

On the 14th, at nine o'clock in the morning, they descried what they at first thought was an iceberg, but it turned out to be land almost wholly covered with snow. On the 16th they began to explore the northern coast, and the next morning made sail for the land. As soon as they drew near the shore, Captain Cook proceeded in a boat, accompanied by Mr. Foster and his party, with a view of reconnoitring before they ventured in with the ship, which they afterwards considered unadvisable, as the appearance of the interior was barren and inhospitable. The wild rocks raised their lofty summits till they were lost in the clouds, and the valleys lay covered with everlasting snow. Not a tree was to be seen, or a shrub even big enough to make a tooth-pick. Since their arrival on this coast, the captain, in addition to the common allowance, ordered wheat to be boiled every morning for breakfast ; but any kind of fresh meat was preferred by most on board to salt ; even the flesh of the penguin, being fresh, was sufficient to make it palatable. They called that bay Possession Bay. As soon as the boat was hoisted in they made sail along the coast to the east for a distance of eleven or twelve leagues, to a projecting point, which obtained the name of Cape Saunders. Beyond this cape is a pretty large bay, which was named Cumberland Bay. On the 20th they fell in with an island, which they named Isle of

Georgia, in honour of his majesty. It extends thirty-one leagues in length, with a breadth of about ten leagues. It seems to abound with bays and harbours, the N.E. coast especially, though the vast quantity of ice on the coast renders them inaccessible the greater part of the year.

From the 20th to the 27th they had a continuation of foggy weather. Growing tired of high southern latitudes, where nothing was to be found but ice and thick fogs, Captain Cook stood to the east, and soon fell in with a vast number of large icebergs, and a sea strewn with loose ice, which induced him to tack and stand to the west, with the wind at north. The icebergs which at this time surrounded them, were nearly all of equal height, and showed a flat even surface. On the 1st of February they sighted a new coast. It proved a high promontory, which was named Cape Montagu, but prudence would not permit them to venture near the shore, as there was no anchorage, and every port was blocked or filled up with ice ; indeed, the whole country, from the summits of the mountains down to the very brink of the cliffs which terminate the coast, appeared to be covered with perpetual snow. It was now necessary to sight land to the north, before they proceeded any further to the east. On the 3rd they saw two isles, and in honour of the day on which they were discovered, they named them Candlemas Isles. They were of no great extent, but of considerable height, and were covered with snow. On the 4th they resumed their course to the east. About noon they met with several icebergs and some loose ice, the weather continuing hazy, with snow and rain. The risk of exploring a coast in these unknown and icy seas is so very great, that Captain Cook expressed an opinion that no navigator would ever venture further than he did on this occasion, and that lands which may lie to the south would never be explored. In this view of the future of Antarctic exploration the gallant seaman was wrong, however ; for the late Admiral Sir James Ross penetrated to S. lat.  $78^{\circ} 4'$ , and discovered a continent.

Captain Cook rightly considered it would have been rash to have risked all that had been done during the voyage, in

discovering a coast which, when explored, would have answered no end whatever, or been of the least use either to navigation or geography ; and, besides, neither the ship nor the crew were in a condition to undertake arduous tasks, nor indeed was there time, had they been ever so well provided. These reasons induced the captain to alter his course to the east, with a very strong gale at north, attended with an exceedingly heavy fall of snow, which lodged in their sails in such quantities that they were frequently obliged to throw the ship up in the wind to shake it out of them.

On the 10th the weather became fair, but piercingly cold, so that the water on deck was frozen, and at noon the mercury in the thermometer was no higher than thirty-four degrees and a half. On the 22nd of February, as they were within two degrees of longitude from their route to the south when they left the Cape of Good Hope, it was of no use proceeding any further to the east under this parallel, as they knew that no land could be there. They had now made the circuit of the Southern Ocean in a high latitude, and traversed it in such a manner as to make the existence of a continent, in Captain Cook's opinion, unless near the pole, out of the reach of navigation. By twice visiting the tropical seas, they had not only settled the situation of some old discoveries, but made there many new ones, and left very little more to be done in that part. Thus the intention of the voyage was in every respect fully answered, the southern hemisphere sufficiently explored, and an end put, for the present, to the search after a southern continent.

Their sails and rigging were so much worn that something was giving way every hour, and they had nothing left either to repair or replace them. Their provisions were in a state of decay, and yielded little nourishment, and they had been a long time without fresh food. The sailors, indeed, were still healthy, and would have cheerfully gone wherever they were led ; but they dreaded the scurvy laying hold of them at a time when they had nothing left to remove it. It would, however, have been cruel to have continued the fatigues and hardships they were continually exposed to, longer than was

absolutely necessary; and their behaviour throughout the whole voyage merited every indulgence which it was possible to give them. Animated by the conduct of the officers, they showed themselves capable of surmounting every difficulty and danger which came in their way, and never once looked either upon one or the other as being at all heightened by their separation from their consort, the *Adventure*.

On the 8th of March the mercury, in the afternoon, rose to 61°, and they found it necessary to put on lighter clothing. On the 12th they lowered a boat, and shot some albatrosses and petrels, which at this time were highly acceptable. Every one had now become impatient to get into port, which induced Captain Cook to yield to the general wish and steer for the Cape of Good Hope. He now demanded of the officers and petty officers the log-books and journals they had kept, which were accordingly delivered to him, and sealed up for the inspection of the Admiralty. He also enjoined on them and the crew not to divulge where they had been till they had received their lordships' permission to do so.

On the evening of the 17th they saw land about six leagues distant. Next day, having little or no wind, they hoisted out a boat and sent on board a ship which was about two leagues distant, though they were too impatient after news to regard the length of the pull. Soon after three more sail appeared in sight to windward, one of which showed English colours. The boat returning reported that they had visited a Dutch East Indianan, whose captain very obligingly offered them sugar, arrack, and whatever he had to spare. They were told by some English seamen on board this ship, that the *Adventure* had arrived at the Cape of Good Hope twelve months ago, and that the crew of one of her boats had been murdered and eaten by the natives of New Zealand.

On the 19th, the *True Briton*, Captain Broadley, from China, bore down upon them. As this ship did not intend to touch at the Cape, the captain put a letter on board for the Secretary of the Admiralty. The melancholy account they had heard of the *Adventure* was now confirmed. From this ship they procured a parcel of old newspapers, which were

new to them, and gave them some amusement ; but these were the least favours they received from Captain Broadley. With a generosity peculiar to the commanders of the East India Company's ships, he sent them fresh provisions, tea, and other articles, which were very acceptable. In the afternoon they parted company, the *True Briton* standing out to sea, and they in for the land. The next morning, being with them Wednesday, the 22nd, but with the people here Tuesday, the 21st, they anchored in Table Bay, where they found several Dutch ships, some French, and the *Ceres*, Captain Neate, an English East India Company's ship, from China, bound direct to England, by whom they sent to the Admiralty a copy of the preceding part of this journal, some charts, and other drawings. Before they had well got to an anchor, Captain Cook despatched an officer to acquaint the governor with his arrival, and to request the necessary stores and provisions, which were readily granted.

The captain now learnt that the *Adventure* had called here on her return, and he found a letter from Captain Furneaux acquainting him with the loss of his boat and of ten of his best men in Queen Charlotte's Sound. Afterwards, on his arrival in England, he put into Captain Cook's hand a complete narrative of his proceedings, from the time of their second and final separation, which is here detailed to complete the history of the voyage.

In October, 1773, they were blown off the coast of New Zealand, when they parted company with the *Resolution*, and never saw her afterwards. They encountered violent storms till the 8th of November, when, being to the north of Cape Palliser, they bore away for some bay to complete their water and wood, each man being put on an allowance of one quart of water for some days past, and the supply at that rate being only sufficient for six or seven days longer. They anchored at Tolaga Bay, where wood and water were easily obtained. The natives here are the same as those at Queen Charlotte's Sound, but more numerous. In one of their canoes they observed the head of a woman lying in state, adorned with feathers and other ornaments. It had



the appearance of being alive, but on examination they found it dry, being preserved with every feature perfect, and kept as the relic of some deceased relation. Having got about ten tons of water and some wood, they sailed for Queen Charlotte's Sound on the 12th; but violent weather prevented them from reaching it till the 30th. They saw nothing of the *Resolution*, and began to doubt her safety; but on going on shore, discerned the place where she had erected her tents; and on an old stump of a tree in the garden observed these words cut out, "Look underneath." There they dug, and soon found a bottle, corked and waxed down, containing a letter from Captain Cook, signifying his arrival on the 3rd instant, and departure on the 24th, and that he intended spending a few days in the entrance of the straits to look for them. They immediately set about the necessary repairs of the ship, which employed them till the 16th of December.

Next day they sent the large cutter with Mr. Rowe, a midshipman, and the boat's crew, to gather wild greens for the ship's company, with orders to return that evening, as they intended to sail on the following morning. As nothing was heard of the boat that evening, nor the next morning, the second lieutenant, Mr. Burney, went in search of her in the launch manned with the boat's crew and ten marines. Mr. Burney returned about eleven o'clock the same night, and informed them of a horrible scene, which cannot be better described than in his own words:—

"On the 18th we left the ship, and having a light breeze in our favour, we soon got round Long Island. I examined every cove on the larboard-hand as we went along, looking well all around with a telescope. At half-past one we stopped at a beach on the left-hand side going up East Bay, to boil some victuals. Whilst we were cooking I saw an Indian on the opposite shore, running swiftly along the beach to the head of the bay. Our meat being dressed, we got into the boat and put off, and in a short time arrived at the head of this beach, where we saw an Indian settlement.

"As we drew near, some of the Indians came down to the

rocks and waved for us to be gone; but seeing we disregarded them, they desisted. Here we found six large canoes hauled up on the beach, most of them double ones, and a great many people. Leaving the boat's crew to guard the boat, I stepped ashore with the marines (the corporal and five men) and searched many of their houses, but found nothing to give me any suspicion. Coming down to the beach, one of the Indians had brought a bundle of hepatoos (long spears), but seeing I looked very earnestly at him, he put them on the ground and walked about with seeming unconcern. Some of the people appearing to be frightened, I gave a looking-glass to one, and a large nail to another. From this place the bay ran, as nearly as I could guess, a good mile. I looked all around with the glass, but saw no boat, canoe, or any sign of inhabitants. I therefore contented myself with firing some guns, which I had done in every cove as I went along.

"I now kept close to the east shore, and came to another settlement, where the Indians invited us ashore. I inquired of them about the boat, but they pretended ignorance. They appeared very friendly here, and sold us some fish. Within an hour after we left this place, on a small beach adjoining Grass Cove, we saw a very large double canoe just hauled up, with two men and a dog. The men, on seeing us, left their canoe, and ran up into the woods. This gave me reason to suspect I should here get tidings of the cutter. We went ashore, searched the canoe, and found one of the rowlock-ports of the cutter and some shoes, one of which was known to belong to Mr. Woodhouse, one of our midshipmen. One of the people at the same time brought me a piece of meat, which he took to be some of the salt meat belonging to the cutter's crew. On examining this, and smelling it, I found it to be fresh. Mr. Fannin (the master), who was with me, supposed it was dog's flesh, and I was of the same opinion, for I still doubted their being cannibals. But we were soon convinced by the most horrid and undeniable proof.

"A great many baskets (about twenty) lying on the beach

tied up, we cut them open. Some were full of roasted flesh, and some of fern-root, which serves them for bread. On further search we found more shoes and a hand, which we immediately knew to have belonged to Thomas Hill, one of our forecastle-men, it being marked "T. H." with an Otaheitean tattoo instrument. I went with some of the people a little way into the woods, but saw nothing else. Coming down again there was a round spot, covered with fresh earth, about four feet in diameter, where something had been buried. Having no spade, we began to dig with a cutlass, and in the meantime I launched the canoe with intent to destroy her; but seeing a great smoke ascending over the nearest hill, I got all the people into the boat, and made all the haste I could to be with them before sunset.

"On opening the next bay, which was Grass Cove, we saw four canoes and a great many people on the beach, who, on our approach, retreated to a small hill about a ship's length from the waterside, where they stood talking to us. A large fire was on the top of the high land beyond the woods, whence, all the way down the hill, the place was thronged like a fair. The savages on the hill still kept hallooing, and making signs for us to land. However, as soon as we got close in we all fired. The first volley did not seem to affect them much; but on the second they began to scramble away as fast as they could, some of them howling. We continued firing as long as we could see the glimpse of any of them through the bushes. Among the Indians were two very stout men, who never offered to move till they found themselves forsaken by their companions, and then marched away with great composure and deliberation; their pride not suffering them to run. One of them, however, got a fall, and either lay there or crawled away on all-fours. The other got clear, without any apparent hurt. I then landed with the marines, and Mr. Fannin stayed to guard the boat.

"On the beach were two bundles of celery which had been gathered for loading the cutter. A broken oar was stuck upright in the ground, to which the natives had tied their canoes, a proof that the canoes had been made here. I then

searched all along at the back of the beach to see if the cutter was there. We found no boat, but instead of her, we saw such a shocking scene of carnage and barbarity as never can be mentioned or thought of but with horror ; for the heads, hearts, and lungs of several of our people were seen lying on the beach, and, at a little distance, the dogs gnawing their entrails.

“Whilst we remained almost stupefied on the spot, Mr. Fannin called to us that he heard the savages gathering together in the woods ; on which I returned to the boat, and hauling alongside the canoes, we demolished three of them. Whilst this was transacting, the fire on the top of the hill disappeared, and we could hear the Indians in the woods at high words ; I suppose quarrelling whether they should attack us, and try to save their canoes. It now grew dark ; I therefore just stepped out and looked once more behind the beach, to see if the cutter had been hauled up in the bushes, but seeing nothing of her, returned and put off. Our whole force would have been barely sufficient to have gone up the hill ; and to have ventured with half (for half must have been left to guard the boat) would have been foolhardiness. As we opened the upper part of the Sound, we saw a very large fire about three or four miles higher up, which formed a complete oval, reaching from the top of the hill down almost to the waterside, the middle space being enclosed all round by the fire like a hedge. I consulted with Mr. Fannin, and we were both of opinion that we could expect to reap no other advantage than the poor satisfaction of killing some more of the savages. Coming between two round islands, situated to the southward of East Bay, we imagined we heard somebody calling. We lay on our oars and listened, but heard no more of it ; we hallooed several times, but to little purpose, the poor souls were far enough out of hearing ; and indeed, I think it some comfort to reflect that, in all probability, every man of them must have been killed on the spot.”

Thus far Mr. Burney's report, and to complete the account of this tragical transaction, it may not be unnecessary to

mention that the people in the cutter were :—Mr. Rowe, Mr. Woodhouse ; Francis Murphy, quartermaster ; William Facey, Thomas Hill, Michael Bell, and Edward Jones, forecattle-men ; John Cavenaugh and Thomas Miller, belonging to the after-guard ; and James Savilly, the captain's man ; being ten in all. Most of these were the *Adventure's* very best seamen, the stoutest and most healthy men in the ship. Mr. Burney's party brought on board two hands ; one belonged to Mr. Rowe, known by a hurt he had received on it, and the other to Thomas Hill, as before mentioned ; also the head of the captain's servant. These, with more of the remains, were tied in a hammock and thrown overboard, with ballast and shot sufficient to sink it.

In all probability this unhappy business originated in some quarrel, which was decided on the spot, or want of due caution on the part of the seamen might have tempted the natives to seize the opportunity of satisfying their inhuman appetites. They were detained in the Sound, by contrary winds, four days after this melancholy affair happened, during which time they saw none of the inhabitants. On the 23rd they weighed and sailed out of the Sound and stood to the eastward, but were baffled for two or three days by light winds before they could clear the coast. On the 10th of January, 1774, they arrived abreast of Cape Horn. They were little more than a month sailing from Cape Palliser, in New Zealand, to Cape Horn, which is 121 degrees of longitude. On opening some casks of peas and flour that had been stowed on the coals they found them very much damaged, and not eatable, so thought it most prudent to make for the Cape of Good Hope. On the 17th of February they made the land off the Cape, and on the 19th anchored in Table Bay, where they found Commodore Sir Edward Hughes, with his Majesty's ships *Salisbury* and *Sea Horse*. On the 16th of April Captain Furneaux sailed for England, and on the 14th of July anchored at Spithead.

We now return to Captain Cook. The day after his arrival at the Cape of Good Hope he waited on the governor, Baron Plettenberg, and other principal officers, who received and

treated them with the greatest politeness. Captain Cook had only three men on board whom it was thought necessary to send on shore for the recovery of their health, and for these were provided victuals, drink, and lodging at the rate of thirty stivers, or half-a-crown, per day. On examining the rudder, it was found necessary to unhang it and take it on shore for repairs. They were also delayed for want of caulkers; but at length, obtaining two workmen from one of the Dutch ships, and the *Dutton*, English East Indiaman, coming in from Bengal, Captain Price obliged Captain Cook with his men, so that by the 26th of April this work was finished. Having taken on board all necessary stores and a fresh supply of provisions and water, they took leave of the governor and other chief personages, and the next morning repaired on board.

As soon as they were under sail, Captain Cook saluted the garrison with thirteen guns, which compliment was immediately returned with the same number. A Spanish frigate and a Danish Indiaman both saluted them as they passed, and Captain Cook returned each salute with an equal number of guns. At daybreak on the morning of the 16th of May they saw the island of St. Helena, fourteen leagues distant, and at midnight anchored in the roadstead before the town. Governor Skettow and the principal gentlemen of the island received and treated the captain during his stay with the greatest politeness. Some necessary repairs of the ship, which they had not time to do at the Cape, were completed here, and the empty water casks were filled, and the crew were regaled with fresh beef purchased at 5d. per lb.

On the 21st of May the captain took leave of the governor, and repaired on board under a salute of thirteen guns, which he returned. On the morning of the 28th they made the island of Ascension, and the same evening anchored in Cross Bay. They remained here till the evening of the 31st, and notwithstanding they had several parties out every night, got but thirty-four turtles, it being rather too late in the season; however, as they weighed between 400 and 500 lbs. each, they were pretty well off. The island of Ascension,

which is about ten miles in length, by about five or six in breadth, has a surface composed of barren hills and valleys, in most of which not a shrub or plant is to be seen for several miles, but only stones and ashes in plenty, an indubitable sign of its having been destroyed by a volcano. A high mountain at the south-east end of the isle seems to be left in its original state, and to have escaped the general destruction. Its soil is a kind of white marl, which yet retains its vegetative qualities, and produces some grasses, on which the goats, only found in this part of the isle, subsist.

While they lay in the roads, a sloop belonging to Bermuda had sailed but a few days before with 105 turtles on board, which was as many as she could take in ; but having turned several more on the different sandy beaches, they had ripped open their bellies, taken out the eggs, and left the carcasses to putrefy, an act as inhuman as injurious to those who came after them. Turtle, it is said, are to be found at this island from January to June. The method of catching is to have people on watch in the several sandy bays for their coming on shore to lay their eggs, which is always in the night, and then to turn them on their backs, till an opportunity offers to take them off the next day.

On the 31st of May Captain Cook left Ascension and steered to the northward. He had a great desire to visit the island of St. Matthew, to settle its situation ; but as they found the wind was not favourable, they steered for the island of Fernando de Noronha, on the coast of Brazil, in order to determine its longitude. On the 9th of June, at noon, they made that place, distant six or seven leagues ; it appeared in detached and peaked hills, the largest of which looked like a church tower or steeple. When they arrived in the roads a gun was fired from one of the forts, and the Portuguese colours were displayed, an example followed by all the other forts. Having speedily ascertained the longitude, they bore away without landing.

By the 18th they got the N.E. trade-wind, attended with fair weather, with occasional light showers of rain ; and as they advanced to the north the wind increased and blew a

fresh top-gallant gale. On the 21st the captain ordered the still to be fitted to the largest copper, which held about sixty-four gallons.

The fire was lighted at four o'clock in the morning, and at six the still began to run. It was continued till six in the evening, by which time they obtained thirty-two gallons of fresh water, with an expenditure of one bushel and a half of coals, which was about three-fourths of a bushel more than was necessary to have boiled the ship's company's victuals only ; but the expense of fuel was no object with them.

Nothing worth mentioning happened till the 13th of July, when they made the island of Fayal, one of the Azores, and soon after that of Pico. At daybreak the next morning, they bore away for the Bay of Fayal, or De Horta, in which they anchored at eight o'clock. The sole design in stopping here was to give Mr. Wales an opportunity to find the rate of the watch, the better to enable them to fix, with some degree of certainty, the longitude of these islands. The moment they anchored, the captain sent an officer to wait on the English consul, and to notify his arrival, requesting permission for Mr. Wales to make observations on shore. Mr. Dent, who acted as consul, not only procured this permission of the governor, but accommodated Mr. Wales with a convenient place in his garden to set up his instruments ; and indeed, entertained all the officers in the most liberal and hospitable manner. During their stay the ship's company was served with fresh beef ; and they took on board about fifteen tons of water, which they brought off in the country boats, at the rate of about three shillings per ton.

The principal produce of Fayal is wheat and Indian corn, with which they supply Pico and some other isles. The chief town, called Villa de Horta, is situated close to the sea, and is defended by two castles, one at each end of the town, connected by a stone wall. This little city, like all others belonging to the Portuguese, is crowded with religious buildings.

Having left the bay on the morning of the 19th, they steered for the island of Terceira, in order to ascertain its length ; but the weather coming on very thick and hazy, and



night approaching, they gave up the design, and proceeded with all expedition for England. On the 29th of July they made the land near Plymouth. The next morning they anchored at Spithead; and the same day Captain Cook landed at Portsmouth, and set out for London in company with Messrs. Hodges, Wales, and the two Fosters.

During her absence from England of three years and eighteen days, and under all changes of climate, the *Resolution* lost but four men, and only one of them by sickness, an immunity which Captain Cook attributes, under the care of Providence, to the following causes: the crew were furnished, as an antiscorbutic, with a quantity of malt, of which were made sweet-wort; to such of the men as showed the least symptoms of scurvy from one to two or three pints a day were given to each man, or in such proportion as the surgeon found necessary. Sour-kROUT, of which they had a large quantity, is a wholesome vegetable food, also highly antiscorbutic, and it does not spoil by keeping; a pound of this was served to each man, when at sea, twice a week, or oftener, as was thought necessary. Portable broth was another useful article of which they had a small supply. An ounce of this to each man was boiled in their peas three days a week, and when they were in places where vegetables were to be got, it was boiled with them, and wheat or oatmeal every morning for breakfast, and also with peas and vegetables for dinner.\* The surgeon also made use of rob of lemons and oranges, in many cases with great success. But the introduction of the most salutary articles, either as provisions or medicines, will generally prove unsuccessful unless supported by certain regulations. On this principle, many years' experience, together with some hints the captain had from other intelligent officers, enabled him to provide a plan whereby all were to be governed. The crew were divided into three watches, except when all hands were called up on some extraordinary occasions. By this means they were less exposed to the weather than if they had

\* The use of these articles of diet at sea, as antiscorbutics, has been superseded by the introduction of lime-juice, also preserved vegetables and meat, and Liebig's Extract.

been at watch and watch, and could change their clothes when they happened to get wet. Proper methods were used to keep their persons, hammocks, bedding, and clothes constantly clean and dry. Equal care was taken to keep the ship clean and dry between decks. Once or twice a week she was aired with fires; and when this could not be done, she was smoked with gunpowder, mixed with vinegar or water. They also frequently had a fire made in an iron pot at the bottom of the well, which was of great use in purifying the air in the lower parts of the ship.

Captain Cook concludes his account of this his second voyage round the world as follows: "It doth not become me to say how far the principal objects of our voyage have been attained. Had we found out a continent there, we might have been better enabled to gratify curiosity; but we hope our not having found it, after all our persevering researches, will leave less room for future speculation about unknown worlds remaining to be explored. Whatever may be the public judgment about other matters, it is with real satisfaction and without claiming any merit, but that of attention to my duty, that I can conclude this account with an observation, which facts enable me to make, that our having discovered the possibility of preserving health among a numerous ship's company, for such a length of time, in such varieties of climate, and amidst such continued hardships and fatigues, will make this voyage remarkable in the opinion of every benevolent person, when the dispute about a southern continent shall have ceased to occupy the attention and to divide the judgment of philosophers."

Though Captain Cook was mistaken in thinking that he had established the fact of the non-existence of a southern continent within the reach of navigation, yet during this second voyage he discovered New Caledonia, one of the largest islands in the South Pacific, except New Zealand; the island of Georgia, and an unknown coast which he named Sandwich Land, the Thule of the southern hemisphere; and having twice visited the tropical seas, he settled the situation of the old and made several new discoveries.

# THE THIRD AND LAST VOYAGE

OF

## CAPTAIN COOK.

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To show the importance of the discoveries of Captain Cook, and to furnish some idea of the magnitude of his services to geographical science, it may be proper to take a cursory view of that untrodden ground which former enterprising discoverers visited. A brief recapitulation of the results of their expeditions will evince how much the intrepid naval officers of our own country have extended our acquaintance with the globe, opened new channels for the acquisition of knowledge, and afforded fresh materials for the study of human nature in its multiform aspects.

Columbus and Magellan, two illustrious foreigners, rendered their names immortal at an early period. The former, by a perseverance of which there was no precedent, providentially surmounted every obstacle that opposed his progress, and gave to Europe a new continent ; for though he was not the actual discoverer of America, by his voyage to San Salvador he established the fact of the existence of lands in the Western Ocean, and fired the minds of explorers scarcely less gifted with genius and undaunted courage than himself.\* Much about the same time, Magellan, inspired

\* Christopher Columbus was destined to afford a memorable instance of the ingratitude of nations and kings towards their greatest men : and when dying he charged his son Fernando to lay beside him in the grave the fetters with which Spaniards had requited their illustrious countryman for the gift of a new world.

by a like spirit of enterprise, and animated by a magnanimity that despised danger, opened a passage to a new sea, to which he gave the name of Pacific.

On the 6th of November, 1520, Magellan entered the straits that have ever since been called by his name, and on the 27th of the same month beheld the wished-for object of his pursuit, the great Southern Ocean. For one hundred and thirteen days he continued steering to the north-west, and having in that time crossed the line, he fell in with those islands to which he gave the name of Ladrões; and, proceeding from thence in search of the Moluccas, he found in his way many little islands, where he was hospitably received, and where a friendly intercourse was established. These islands were situated between the Ladrões and what are now known by the name of the Philippines, in one of which, called Nathan, Magellan, encountering a whole army with sixty men, was first wounded with a poisoned arrow and then pierced with a bearded lance. His little squadron, now reduced to two ships and not more than eighty men, departed hastily; but one only, the *Victory*, returned by the Cape of Good Hope, and was the first ship that ever went round the world. Other adventurers were now not wanting to follow the steps of this intrepid navigator.

In 1567, Alvarez de Mendamo, another Spaniard, was sent from Lima on a voyage of discovery. He sailed 800 leagues westward from the coast of Peru, and fell in with certain islands in latitude 11° S., which Captain Cook inclined to the opinion were the cluster since called New Britain.\*

Mendamo was also said to have discovered, in 1575, the island of St. Christoval, and not far from hence the archipelago called the Solomon Islands, of which he counted thirty-three, great and small.

In 1577, Francis Drake, who was the first Englishman to pass the Straits of Magellan, discovered California, which he named New Albion. He also discovered some small islands

\* New Britain is situated in about 5° S. lat., and is separated from New Ireland by a narrow strait. Both these islands are to the east of New Guinea, and between it and the Solomon group.

on his route to the forty-third degree of north latitude ; but as his sole view was to return with his booty, he paid no regard to objects of less concern. He arrived in England by the Cape of Good Hope, in the year 1580. In this year Sir Thomas Cavendish also passed the Straits of Magellan and returned nearly by the same route as his predecessor, touching at the Ladrones, and making some stay at the Philippine Isles, of which on his return he gave an entertaining description.

In 1595, the Spaniards, intent more on discovery than plunder, fitted out four ships, and gave the command to Alvaro Mendana de Neyra. His discoveries were the Mendana, or Marquesas, Solitary Island, and Santa Cruz. Most of those who embarked on this expedition either died miserably, or were shipwrecked.

In 1598, Oliver Van Noort passed the Straits, but made no discoveries ; in this year, also, the Sebaldine Islands were discovered by Sebald de Wert, the same now known as the Falkland Isles. In 1605, Pedro Fernando de Quiros conceived the design of discovering a southern continent. He is supposed by Dalrymple and others to have been the first into whose mind the existence of such a continent had ever entered. On the 31st of December he sailed from Callao with two ships and a tender. Luis Paz de Torres was intrusted with the command, and Quiros, from his zeal for the success of the undertaking, was content to act in the inferior station of pilot. Quiros, soon after his return, presented a memorial to Philip II. of Spain, in which he enumerates twenty-three islands that he had discovered, among which was the island of the Virgin Mary, and adjoining it the country called Australia del Espiritu Santo, in which land were found the bays of St. Philip and St. Jago.

In 1614, George Spitzbergen, with a strong squadron of Dutch ships, passed the Straits of Magellan ; and on the 14th of June in the following year, Schouten and Le Maire, in the *Unity*, of 360 tons, and the *Hoorn*, of 110 tons, sailed from the Texel, professedly for the discovery of a new passage to the South Sea. The *Hoorn* was burnt in careening at King's Island, on the coast of Brazil, and the other left

singly to pursue her voyage. In lat.  $54^{\circ} 56'$  they came in sight of an opening, to which (having happily passed it) they gave the name of Strait Le Maire. Having soon after this weathered the southernmost point of the American continent, they called that promontory Cape Horn, or more properly Hoorn, after the town in Holland, where the project was first secretly concerted; and two islands which they had passed they named Bernevelt. They also discovered several others, and coasted the north side of New Britain.

In 1642, Abel Tasman sailed from Batavia in the *Heemskirk*, accompanied by the *Zee Haan* pink, with a design of discovering a southern continent. The first land he made was that since known by the name of Tasmania, or Van Diemen's Land. Proceeding in a high latitude to the eastward, he fell in with the westernmost coast of New Zealand, where most of the crew were murdered by the savages of a bay, which he called Murderers' Bay, subsequently named by our navigators Queen Charlotte's Sound. In his passage he fell in with the isles of Pylstaert, Amsterdam, Middleburg, and Rotterdam. Then directing his course to the N.W., he discovered eighteen or twenty small islands, to which he gave the name of Prince William's Islands and Heemskirk's Banks. From thence Tasman pursued his course to New Guinea, without discovering the supposed continent, and returned to Batavia on the 15th of June, 1643.

In 1681, Dampier passed the Magellan Straits, and in 1699 he made a second voyage of discovery, which was chiefly confined to New Holland, New Guinea, New Britain, and the islands adjacent. In 1703 he performed a third voyage, but without making any new discoveries.

In 1721, the Dutch East India Company, at the instance of Captain Roggewein, fitted out a small fleet for the discovery of that continent which was hitherto unknown, though believed universally to exist. Three stout ships were appointed, and were well provided for this service, the *Eagle*, of 36 guns and 111 men, on board of which embarked Captain Roggewein as commodore, having under him Captain Coster;

the *Tienhoven*, of 28 guns and 100 men, of which Captain Bowman was commander; and the *African*, galley, commanded by Captain Rosenthal. From these experienced navigators everything was hoped. They found the Straits of Magellan impracticable, and entered the Southern Ocean, after having endured a variety of difficulties and hardships, by the Straits of Le Maire. Roggewein pursued nearly the same track as Schoten had pointed out, till, veering more to the north, he fell in with the islands on which Commodore Byron first landed. Pursuing their course to the westward, they discovered a cluster of islands, undoubtedly the same as those now called the Friendly Isles, to which they gave the name of the Labyrinth, because it was with difficulty they could clear them. They continued their course towards New Britain and New Guinea, and thence by the way of the Moluccas to the East Indies.

In 1738 Lazier Bouvet was sent by the French East India Company upon a voyage of discovery in the South Atlantic Ocean. He sailed from Port L'Orient on the 19th of July, on board the *Eagle*, accompanied by the *Mary*, and on the 1st of January following, discovered what he thought was land in 54° S. lat. 11' E. long., though Captain Cook diligently sought for it, but in vain. Between the years 1740-44 Lord Anson performed his famous voyage of circumnavigation, but he made no discoveries of importance.

The spirit of nautical research recovered new strength under the patronage and munificent encouragement of King George the Third, who, having succeeded to the throne at the time this country had raised herself to the pinnacle of glory by her successes in three continents, turned his attention to enterprises more adapted to the season of returning peace. His Majesty formed the grand design of exploring the southern hemisphere, and in the prosecution of an object so well adapted to the views of a great commercial people, one voyage followed another in close succession.

In 1764, Captain, afterwards Admiral, Byron, having under his command the *Dolphin* and *Tamar*, passed through the Straits of Magellan into the Pacific Ocean, where he dis-

covered several islands, and returned to England in May, 1768. In the month of August following the *Dolphin* was again sent out under the command of Captain Wallis, with the *Swallow* sloop, commanded by Captain Carteret. They proceeded together till they came to the west end of the Straits of Magellan, and in sight of the Great South Sea, where they were separated. Captain Wallis directed his course more westerly than any navigator had done before in so high a latitude; discovered no less than fourteen new islands, and returned to England with the *Dolphin* in May, 1768. His companion, Captain Carteret, kept a different route, and made other discoveries, among which was the strait between New Britain and New Ireland. He returned to England in the *Swallow*, after having encountered innumerable difficulties, in March, 1769. In the same year and month Commodore Bougainville, having circumnavigated the globe, arrived in France.

In 1769 the Spaniards sent out a ship to trace the discoveries of the English and French commanders, which arrived at Otaheite in 1771, and touched at Easter Island. In the same year, 1769, the French also fitted out another ship from the Mauritius, under the command of Captain Kergulen, who, having discovered a few barren islands, contented himself with leaving some memorials that were found by Captain Cook. To this latter distinguished navigator was reserved the honour of being the first to construct a chart of the southern extremity of America, from a series of the most satisfactory observations, beginning at the west entrance of the Straits of Magellan, and carried on with unwearied perseverance round Terra del Fuego through the Straits of Le Maire.

We have seen how Captain Cook, on his first voyage, returned home by the Cape of Good Hope in July, 1771, and again, how this experienced circumnavigator performed his second voyage in the *Resolution*, which sailed from England in July, 1772, and returned on the 30th of the same month in 1775. The general object of this and the preceding voyage round the world, was to search for unknown tracts of land that might exist within the bosom of the immense expanse



of ocean that occupies the southern hemisphere, and to determine the existence or non-existence of a southern continent. During these voyages the several lands of which any account had been given by the Spaniards or Dutch, were carefully looked for, and most of them found, visited, and accurately surveyed. The Terra Australia del Espiritu Santo of Quiros, which he regarded as part of a southern continent, was circumnavigated by Captain Cook, who assigned to it its true position and extent. Bougainville did no more than discover that the land here was not connected; but Captain Cook explored the whole group. Byron, Wallace, and Carteret had each of them contributed towards increasing a knowledge of the amazing profusion of islands that exist in the Pacific Ocean, within the limits of the southern tropic, but how far that ocean reached to the west, what lands bounded it on that side, and the connection of those lands with the discoveries of former navigators, remained absolutely unknown till Captain Cook decided the question, and brought home ample accounts of them and their inhabitants. It had been hitherto a favourite conjecture among geographers, that New Zealand was a part of the southern continent, but Captain Cook's voyage in the *Endeavour* proved the fallacy of this hypothesis, for he spent nearly six months upon its coasts, circumnavigated it completely, and ascertained its extent and divisions into two main islands. Whether New Holland, as Australia was then called, did or did not join New Guinea was another question which Captain Cook decided by sailing between them through Endeavour Strait. He, therefore, in this part of his voyage, established a fact of essential service to navigation by opening, if not a new, at least an unfrequented and forgotten communication between the Southern Pacific and Indian Oceans.

To Captain Carteret belongs a new discovery, in the strictest sense of the word. St. George's Channel, through which his ship found a way, between New Britain and New Ireland, is a much better and shorter passage, whether eastward or westward, than round all the islands and lands to

the northward. Thus far, therefore, the late voyages of British navigators, to disclose new tracts and to reform old defects in geography, appear to have been prosecuted with a satisfactory degree of success.

But something was still wanting to complete the great plan of discovery. The accessible extremities of the southern hemisphere had been visited and surveyed ; yet great variety of opinion prevailed concerning the navigable boundaries of the northern hemisphere, particularly as to the existence, or at least the practicability of, a northern passage between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, either by sailing eastward round Asia, or westward round North America ; it was then considered that such a passage, if it existed, would tend to shorten and facilitate communication with the East, which was carried on only by the tedious Cape route, a view which we now know to be fallacious, for the North-west passage, though discovered, is impracticable. This was a favourite project of the English as early as the fifteenth century, and its execution appeared so certain to the Cabots, that the younger Sebastian made the original attempt to discover a North-west passage in 1497, which ended in the discovery of Newfoundland and the Labrador coast. He returned by the way of Newfoundland, bringing home two Esquimaux.

A Bristol merchant named Thorne addressed more than one letter to Henry the Eighth on the same subject, but without result. Twenty-five years later the citizens of London fitted out the *Bona Esperanza*, the *Edward Bonadventure*, and the *Bona Confidentia*, under the flag of that "valiant and well-born" gentleman, Sir Hugh Willoughby, with Richard Chancelour second in command, and on the 10th of May, 1553, they passed down the river on their perilous journey. At Greenwich, where the Court was residing, the Privy Council and courtiers, and large crowds on both sides of the river, shouted and waved farewells, the good King Edward only being unable to leave his sick-bed. At Gravesend the aged Cabot came on board, and, after making liberal rewards to the mariners, "wished them to pray for the good fortune and prosperous success of the adventure, which being ended, he

and his friends departed most gently, commending them to the governance of Almighty God." After being wind-bound on the coast for some days, they at last "committed themselves to the sea, giving their last adieu to their native country, which they knew not whether they should ever return to see or not."

Chancelour, in a certain sense, "sped well," for he got home through Russia, after a sledge journey of 1,500 miles from Archangel; but it fared otherwise with Willoughby and the crews of the two first-named ships, for, separated from their consort, they perished of cold and hunger on the inhospitable shores of Lapland. As Thomson afterwards sung,—

"Such was the Briton's fate,  
As with first prow (what have not Britons dared)  
He for the passage sought, attempted since  
So much in vain, and seeming to be shut  
By jealous Nature with eternal laws."

But failure was not the parent of despair; and in 1576 Sir Martin Frobisher undertook a second expedition to the North-west, Queen Elizabeth, from her palace at Greenwich, waving with her handkerchief a hearty adieu to her gallant subjects. Frobisher explored a strait called after him in 63° 30' N. lat., but, after exhibiting much pertinacity, was forced to relinquish the hope of achieving a passage by this route to India.

In 1583 Sir Humphrey Gilbert renewed the attempt with five vessels, one only of ten tons; but he was unsuccessful. Gilbert coasted along the American continent from the 60th degree of North latitude, till he fell in with the Gulf of St. Lawrence, took possession in the name of his sovereign of the land, since called by the French and now known as Canada, and was the first that projected and promoted the establishment of the fisheries in Newfoundland.

Two years later (1585) Captain John Davis made the first of three trials for a North-west passage, each of which proved unfortunate and unsuccessful. In his progress he passed the strait that still bears his name, and advanced as high as 66° 40' N. lat.

Mr. Henry Hudson, in the year 1610, projected a new

course towards the North-west, which brought him to the mouth of the bay that now bears his name. But the adventure ended by the mutiny of his crew, and the tragical death of the captain and seven of his sick followers.

The year following, Sir Henry Button undertook the task, but with no better success than his predecessor.

He was followed by James Hall and William Baffin, who both met with tragic ends. The former fell by the hands of a savage in this fruitless expedition; and Baffin was killed, in the year 1622, at the siege of the island of Ormuz, when an English fleet assisted the Persians. Before his death, Baffin, who holds a foremost place amongst Arctic navigators, renewed the pursuit after the chimera that has lured so many brave seamen to their death; and, in 1616, in his ship, the *Discovery*, examined a sea that communicates with Davis's Strait, which he found to be no other than a great bay, and called after his own name; a passage to the north, in lat. 79°, which he thought was an inlet, he called Smith's Sound. This famous Smith's Sound has been recognised by navigators of our day, as the portal through which all must pass who seek access to the North Pole. By it Kane and Hall have advanced to the highest latitudes yet attained, and through it now Captains Nares and Stephenson, and our countrymen, in the ships *Alert* and *Discovery* (may it be a name of happy augury!), will push, in their gallant attempt to plant the British flag on that mysterious point of the earth's surface.

In 1631 Luke Fox made a voyage in search of the same supposed passage, but to as little purpose as the rest.

He was followed by Captain James, who, after the most elaborate search, changed his opinion, and declared that no such passage existed.

Wood's failure in 1676 seems to have closed the list of unfortunate Northern expeditions in that century, and the subject appears to have slept for nearly another century, when Mr. Dobbs once more recalled the attention of this country to the probability of a North-west passage through Hudson's Bay. In consequence of his proposals Captain Middleton was sent out by the British Government in 1741,

and Captains Smith and Moore by a private society in 1746, each encouraged by an Act of Parliament passed in the preceding year, that annexed a reward of twenty thousand pounds to the discovery of a passage; however, they all returned from Hudson's Bay with reports of their proceedings that left the attainment of the great object in view as distant as ever.\*

But it was not yet certain that such a passage might not be found on the western side of America by a North-east passage. Researches of this kind were no longer left to the solicitation, or to the subscriptions of private adventurers; they engaged royal attention, and were warmly promoted by the minister at the head of the Naval Department; and hence it was that while Captain Cook was prosecuting his voyage towards the South Pole, Captain Phipps, better known as Lord Mulgrave, in May, 1773, sailed with two ships, the *Racehorse* and *Carcase*, to determine how far navigation was practicable towards the North Pole. After narrowly escaping destruction, the vessels returned in the autumn. Captain Phipps has put upon record that he was astonished at what the earlier Arctic navigators had achieved; for, says he, "they encountered dangers which must have been alarming from their novelty with the greatest fortitude and perseverance, and also showed diligence and skill which might have done honour to modern seamen."

That nothing might be left unattempted, though much had been already done, Captain Cook, whose professional know-

\* Besides the above Arctic explorers, our naval history furnishes other names, of whom the most famous are Lancaster, after whom the sound in 74° N. lat. was called; Borroughs, who attempted the North-west passage in 1556, twenty-four years later; Jackman and Pell, who effected little, the latter being lost, together with his ship; and Poole, who sailed, soon after Hudson's attempt, in the *Assault*, but lost his ship after reaching the Spitzbergen coast. The Dutch also made attempts, their first expedition dating in the year 1595, but they effected nothing. During the present century this country has continued the task bequeathed to her sons by their fathers, and the names of Parry, Ross, Austin, Back, Franklin, McClure, McClintock, Osborn, and a host of others, arise to the memory as those of seamen not less gallant and successful than the Arctic heroes of bygone times in the noble task of geographical research.

ledge could only be equalled by the persevering diligence with which he had employed it in the course of his former researches, was called upon once more to resume his survey of the globe. This brave and experienced commander might have spent the remainder of his days in the command to which he had been appointed in Greenwich Hospital ; but he cheerfully relinquished this honourable station in a letter to the Admiralty, dated February 10, 1776, placed his services at the disposal of their lordships, and undertook a third voyage, which, in one respect, was less fortunate than any former expedition, being performed at the expense of the precious and most valuable life of its conductor. Former circumnavigators had returned to Europe by the Cape of Good Hope ; the arduous and, as we now know, impossible task was assigned to Captain Cook of attempting it by reaching the high northern latitudes between Asia and America. He was ordered to proceed to Otaheite, or the Society Islands, and then, having crossed the equator into the northern tropic, to hold such a course as might most probably give success to the attempt of finding out a northern passage. But that the reader may be enabled to judge with precision of the great outlines of the present important voyage, of the various objects it had in view, and how far they were carried into execution, it may be proper to insert a copy of the Admiralty's instructions to Captain Cook.

"Whereas, the Earl of Sandwich has signified to us his majesty's pleasure, that an attempt should be made to find out a northern passage by sea from the Pacific to the Atlantic Ocean ; and, whereas, we have in pursuance thereof caused his Majesty's sloops *Resolution* and *Discovery* to be fitted, in all respects, proper to proceed upon a voyage for the purpose above mentioned ; and from the experience we have had of your abilities and good conduct in your late voyages, have thought fit to intrust you with the conduct of the present intended voyage, and with that view appointed you to command the first-mentioned sloop, and directed Captain Clarke, who commands the other, to follow your orders for his further proceedings ; you are hereby required and directed to

proceed with the said two sloops directly for the Cape of Good Hope, unless you shall judge it necessary to stop at Madeira, the Cape de Verd, or Canary Islands, to take in wine for the use of their companies ; in which case you are at liberty so to do, taking care to remain there no longer than may be necessary for that purpose ; and on your arrival at the Cape of Good Hope, you are to refresh the sloops' companies with as much provision and water as can be conveniently stowed.

“ If possible, you are to leave the Cape of Good Hope by the end of October or beginning of November next, and proceed to the southward in search of some islands, said to have been lately seen by the French, in the latitude 48 deg. south, and under or near the meridian of Mauritius. In case you find those islands, you are to examine them thoroughly for a good harbour ; and upon discovering one, make the necessary observations to facilitate the finding it again, as a good port in that situation may hereafter prove very useful, although it should afford nothing more than shelter, wood, and water. You are not, however, to spend too much time in looking out for those islands, or in the examination of them, if found, but to proceed to Otaheite, or the Society Isles (touching at New Zealand in your way thither if you should judge it necessary and convenient), and taking care to arrive there time enough to admit of your giving the sloops' companies the refreshment they may stand in need of before you prosecute the further object of these instructions. Upon your arrival at Otaheite, or the Society Isles, you are to land Omai at such of them as he may choose, and to leave him there.

“ You are to distribute among the chiefs of those islands such part of the presents with which you have been supplied as you shall judge proper, reserving the remainder to distribute among the natives of the countries you may discover in the northern hemisphere ; and having refreshed the people belonging to the sloops under your command, and taken on board such wood and water as they may respectively stand in need of, you are to leave those islands in the beginning of

February, or sooner if you shall judge it necessary, and then to proceed in as direct a course as you can to the coast of New Albion, endeavouring to fall in with it in the latitude of 45 deg. north, and taking care in your way thither not to lose any time in search of new lands, or to stop at any you may fall in with, unless you find it necessary to recruit your wood and water.

“You are also in your way thither, strictly enjoined not to touch upon any part of the Spanish dominions on the western continent of America, unless driven thither by some unavoidable accident, in which case you are to stay no longer there than shall be absolutely necessary, and to be very careful not to give umbrage or offence to any of the inhabitants or subjects of his Catholic Majesty. And, if in your further progress to the northward, as hereafter directed, you find any subjects of any European prince or state upon any part of the coast you may think proper to visit, you are not to disturb them, or give them any just cause of offence, but, on the contrary, to treat them with civility and friendship.

“Upon your arrival on the coast of New Albion, you are to put into the first convenient port to recruit your wood and water and procure refreshments, and then to proceed northward along the coast as far as the latitude of 65°, or farther, if you are not obstructed by lands or ice; taking care not to lose any time in exploring rivers or inlets, or upon any other account until you get in the before-mentioned latitude of 65°, where we could wish you to arrive in the month of June next. When you get that length you are very carefully to search for and explore such rivers or inlets as may appear of considerable extent, and pointing towards Hudson's or Baffin's Bays, and if, from your own observations or from information from the natives (who, there is reason to believe, are the same race of people, and speak the same language—of which you are furnished with a vocabulary—as the Esquimaux), there shall appear to be a certainty, or even a probability, of a water passage into the afore-mentioned bays, or either of them, you are, in such case, to use your utmost endeavours to pass through with one or both of the sloops,



unless you shall be of opinion that the passage may be effected with more certainty, or with greater probability, by smaller vessels ; in which case you are to set up the frames of one or both of the small vessels with which you are provided, and when they are put together, and are properly fitted, stored, and victualled, you are to despatch one or both of them, under the care of proper officers, with a sufficient number of petty officers, men, and boats, in order to attempt the said passage ; with such instructions for rejoining you, if they should fail, or for their further proceedings, if they should succeed in the attempt, as you shall judge most proper. But, nevertheless, if you shall find it more eligible to pursue any other measures than those above pointed out, in order to make a discovery of the before-mentioned passage (if any such there be), you are at liberty ; and we leave it to your discretion to pursue such measures accordingly.

“ But, should you be satisfied that there is no passage through the bays, sufficient for the purposes of navigation, you are, at the proper season of the year, to repair to the port of St. Peter and St. Paul, in Kamtschatka, or wherever else you shall judge more proper, in order to refresh your people and pass the winter ; and in the spring of the ensuing year, 1778, to proceed from thence to the northward, as far as in your prudence you may think proper, in further search of a North-east or North-west passage from the Pacific Ocean into the Atlantic, or North Sea ; and if, from your own observation, or any information you may receive, there shall appear to be a probability of such a passage, you are to proceed as above directed ; and having discovered such a passage, or failed in the attempt, make the best of your way back to England, by such route as you may think best for the improvement of geography and navigation ; repairing to Spithead with both sloops, where they are to remain till further orders.

“ And at whatever places you may touch in the course of your voyage, where accurate observations of the nature hereafter mentioned have not been made, you are, as far as your time will allow, very carefully to observe the situation of

such places, both in latitude and longitude ; the variation of the needle ; bearings of headlands ; height, direction, and course of the tides and currents ; depths and soundings of the sea ; shoals, rocks, &c. ; and also to survey, make charts, and take views of such bays, harbours, and different parts of the coast, and to make such notations thereon as may be useful either to navigation or commerce. You are also carefully to observe the nature of the soil and the produce thereof ; the animals or fowls that inhabit or frequent it ; the fishes that are found in the rivers or upon the coast, and in what plenty ; and in case there are any peculiar to such places, to describe them minutely, and to make as accurate drawings of them as you can ; and if you find any metals, minerals, or valuable stones, or any extraneous fossils, you are to bring home specimens of each ; as also of the seeds of such trees, shrubs, plants, fruits, and grains, peculiar to those places, as you may be able to collect, and to transmit them to our secretary, that proper experiments and examinations may be made of them. You are likewise to examine the genius, temper, disposition, and number of the natives and inhabitants, where you find any ; and to endeavour, by all proper means, to cultivate a friendship with them, making them presents of such trinkets as you may have on-board, and they may like best ; inviting them to traffic, and showing them every kind of civility and regard, but taking care, nevertheless, not to suffer yourselves to be surprised by them, but to be always on your guard against any accidents.

“ You are also, with the consent of the natives, to take possession, in the name of the King of Great Britain, of convenient situations in such countries as you may discover, that have not already been discovered or visited by any other European power ; and to distribute among the inhabitants such things as will remain as traces and testimonies of your having been there ; but if you find the countries so discovered are uninhabited, you are to take possession of them for his majesty, by setting up proper marks and inscriptions as first discoverers and possessors.

“ But forasmuch as, in undertakings of this nature, several

emergencies may arise not to be foreseen, and therefore not particularly to be provided for by instructions before hand, you are, in such cases, to proceed as you shall judge most advantageous to the service on which you are employed ; and you are, by all opportunities, to send to our secretary, for our information, accounts of your proceedings, and copies of the surveys and drawings you shall have made ; and upon your arrival in England, you are immediately to repair to this office, in order to lay before us a full account of your proceedings in the whole course of your voyage, taking care, before you leave the sloop, to demand from the officers and petty officers the log-books and journals they may have kept, and to seal them up for our inspection, and enjoining them, and the whole crew, not to divulge where they have been, until they have permission so to do ; and you are to direct Captain Clarke to do the same with respect to the officers, petty officers, and crew of the *Discovery*.

“ Should any accident happen to the *Resolution* in the course of the voyage, so as to disable her from proceeding any further, you are in such case to remove yourself and her crew into the *Discovery*, and to prosecute your voyage in her, her commander being hereby strictly required to receive you on board, and to obey your orders, the same in every respect as when you were actually on board the *Resolution* ; and in case of your inability by sickness, or otherwise, to carry these instructions into execution, you are to be careful to leave them with the next officer in command, who is hereby required to execute them in the best manner he can.

“ The above instructions were given July 6th, 1776, under the hands of the Earl of Sandwich, Lord C. Spencer, Sir H. Palliser ; and, by command of their lordships, signed, Philip Stephens, Secretary of the Admiralty.”

In order to carry this noble and extensive plan into execution, on the 14th of February, 1776, the *Resolution* and *Discovery*, having been completely equipped in the dock at Deptford, were put into commission. Captain Cook hoisted his pendant on board the former sloop, and the command of the *Discovery*, of 300 tons burthen, which had been

purchased into the service, was given to Captain Clerke, who had been Captain Cook's second lieutenant on board the *Resolution*, in his second voyage round the world. Both ships were well fitted out, and supplied abundantly with every article necessary for a long voyage; and on the 8th of June, while they lay in Long Reach, they had the satisfaction of a visit from Earl Sandwich, Sir Hugh Palliser, and others of the Board of Admiralty, to ascertain whether everything had been completed pursuant to their orders and for the convenience of their crews. They honoured Captain Cook with their company to dinner on that day, and were saluted on their coming on board and on their going on shore, with seventeen guns and three cheers. To convey some permanent benefit to the inhabitants of Oraheite and of the other islands which they might happen to visit, his Majesty ordered a supply of some useful animals, with hay and corn for their support. They were also furnished with a sufficient quantity of valuable European garden seeds which might add fresh supplies of food to the vegetable productions of the newly-discovered islands. They had also an extensive assortment of iron, tools, and trinkets, to facilitate a friendly commerce and intercourse with the inhabitants of such new countries as might be discovered. A variety of other articles, which might be conducive to health, comfort, or convenience, were also added. In furtherance of geographical science, a variety of astronomical and nautical instruments were intrusted by the Board of Longitude to Captain Cook and Mr. King, his second lieutenant, who volunteered to supply the place of a professional observer. The Board likewise intrusted them with the time-keeper, by Kendal, Captain Cook had employed on his last voyage, and which had given great satisfaction. Another chronometer and a similar assortment of astronomical and other instruments were put on board the *Discovery* for the use of Mr. William Bailey, who was engaged as an observer on board that sloop. Though several young men among the sea-officers were capable of being employed in constructing charts, drawing plans, and taking views of the coasts and headlands, nevertheless, Mr. Webster was

engaged to embark with Captain Cook for the purpose of supplying the defects of written accounts, by taking accurate drawings of the most memorable scenes and transactions Mr. Anderson, also, surgeon to Captain Cook, added to his professional abilities a great proficiency in natural history. This gentleman had already visited the South Sea Islands in the same ship, and enabled the captain to enrich his history of his voyage with useful and valuable remarks. The vocabularies of the Friendly and Sandwich Islands, and of the natives of Nootka, had been furnished to the commander by this useful associate, and a fourth vocabulary, in which the language of the Esquimaux was compared with that of the Americans on the opposite side of the continent, had been prepared by the captain himself. The confessed abilities and great assiduity of Mr. Anderson, in observing everything that related either to natural history or to manners and language, and the desire manifested by Captain Cook on all occasions to have the assistance of that gentleman, afforded proof of the great value of his collections. The *Resolution* had the same complement of officers and men that she had in her former voyage, and the establishment of the *Discovery* varied from that of the *Adventure* in the single instance of her having no marine officer on board. This arrangement was finally completed at Plymouth, and on the 9th of July they received the party of marines allotted for the voyage. On board both vessels were 192 persons, officers included. Those of the *Resolution* were Lieutenants Gore, King, and Williamson; Bligh,\* master; Anderson, surgeon; and Philips, lieutenant

\* Mr. William Bligh was the same officer who commanded the *Bounty*, the crew of which mutinied on April 8, 1789, off Otaheite, and, having bound Lieutenant Bligh, turned him adrift in the long-boat with eighteen men, and with only 150 lbs. of biscuit, 35 lbs. of pork, and a 58-gallon cask of water. Mr. Bligh ultimately reached Timor, having traversed 3,618 miles in forty-six days. The *Pandora* was despatched from England to bring the mutineers to justice and eighteen were brought off the island; but the frigate was wrecked, when several men were drowned. Ten of the mutineers reached England and were tried by court-martial, when three were hanged in June, 1792. Fletcher Christian, the ringleader, and the mutineers proceeded in the *Bounty* to Pitcairn's Island, where they were discovered in 1809.

of marines. The officers of the *Discovery* were Lieutenants Burney and Rickman ; Edgar, master ; and Law, surgeon. Mention should also be made of a midshipman of the *Discovery*, who lived to find himself famous. This was Mr. Vancouver, who, a few years later, made important discoveries on the coast of North America, where an island, now forming an important British colony, was named after him. Captain Cook also embarked Omai, a native of the Society Isles, who had been brought to England by Captain Furneaux in the preceding voyage, and had been introduced into the highest ranks of London society by the Earl of Sandwich, at whose house he resided. Omai left his friends in London with a mixture of regret and satisfaction. When he reflected on the kindness he had received he could not refrain from tears, but the pleasing idea of revisiting his original connections made his eyes sparkle with joy.

As the original voyage, from which our historical account is abstracted, is written in the words of Captain Cook till his lamented death, and afterwards in those of Captain King, who published the whole, we have preferred giving the narrative in the first person, with occasional remarks and abbreviations—a course which we hope will commend itself to the approval of the reader.

Contrary winds and other circumstances of little consequence prevented the ships from clearing the Channel till the 14th of July, 1776.

Nothing material happened till the 1st of August, when we arrived off Teneriffe, one of the Canaries, where several of the gentlemen landed. It is said that none of the aboriginal inhabitants remain here as a distinct people, but that the produce of their intermarriage with the Spaniards may still be traced in a strong and muscular race dispersed over the islands.

On the 4th we weighed anchor and proceeded on our voyage. At nine o'clock in the evening of the 10th we saw the island of Bonavista, bearing south, distant little more than a league, though at this time we thought ourselves much farther off. This, however, proved a mistake, for after

hauling to the eastward till twelve o'clock to clear the sunken rocks that lie about a league from the south-east point of the island, we found ourselves at that time close upon them, and but just weathered the breakers. Our situation, for a few moments, was very alarming. I did not choose to sound, as that might have heightened the danger instead of lessening it. For some days preceding the 6th of October we had seen albatrosses, pintadoes, and other petrels, and now saw three penguins, which induced us to sound, though we found no ground at 150 fathoms.

On the 10th of October we arrived at the Cape of Good Hope, and found in the bay two French East India ships, the one outward and the other homeward bound. Two or three days before our arrival another homeward-bound ship of the same nation had parted from her cable and been driven on shore at the head of the bay, where she was lost. The crew were saved, but the greater part of the cargo shared the same fate as the ship, or was plundered and stolen by the inhabitants. This is the account the French officers gave me, and the Dutch themselves could not deny the facts ; but, by way of excusing themselves for being guilty of a crime disgraceful to every civilised state, they endeavoured to lay the whole blame on the French captain for not applying in time for a guard. As soon as we had saluted, I went on shore, accompanied by some of my officers, and waited on the governor and other officials. These gentlemen received me with the greatest civility, and the governor, in particular, promised me every assistance that the place afforded. At the same time I obtained his leave to set up our observatory, to pitch tents for the sailmakers and coopers, and to bring the cattle on shore to graze near our encampment. Before I returned on board, I ordered a daily supply of soft bread, fresh meat, and greens for the ship's company.

Nothing remarkable happened till the evening of the 31st, when it began to blow excessively hard from the south-east and continued for three days, during which time there was no communication between the ship and the shore. The *Resolution* was the only ship in the bay that rode out the gale

without dragging her anchors. We felt its effects not less sensibly on shore; the tents and observatory were torn to pieces, and the astronomical quadrant narrowly escaped irreparable damage. On the 3rd of November the storm ceased.

The *Discovery*, having been detained some days at Plymouth after the *Resolution*, did not arrive here till the 10th. Captain Clerke informed me that he had sailed from Plymouth on the 1st of August, and should have been with us a week sooner if the late gale of wind had not blown him off the coast. Upon the whole, he was seven days longer in his passage from England than we had been. He had the misfortune to lose one of his marines, who fell overboard; but there had been no other mortality among his people, and they now arrived well and hearty.

While the ships were getting ready, some of our officers made an excursion into the neighbouring country.

Here I added to my original stock of live animals by purchasing two young bulls, two heifers, two young stone horses, two mares, two rams, several ewes and goats, and some rabbits and poultry. All of them were intended for New Zealand, Otaheite, and the neighbouring islands, or any other place in the course of our voyage where there might be a prospect of their proving useful to posterity. Having given Captain Clerke a copy of my instructions, and an order directing him how to proceed in case of separation, we repaired on board on the morning of the 30th. At five in the afternoon we weighed and stood out of the bay. We steered a south-east course, with a very strong gale from the westward, followed by a mountainous sea, which made the ship roll and tumble exceedingly, and gave us a great deal of trouble to preserve from injury the cattle we had on board. Notwithstanding all our care, several goats, especially the males, died, as also some sheep. This misfortune was, in a great measure, owing to the cold, which we now began to feel most sensibly.

Nothing very interesting happened from the 5th of December till the 26th of January, when they arrived at Van Diemen's



Land, where, as soon as they had anchored in Adventure Bay, Captain Cook says, I ordered the boats to be hoisted out. In one of them I went myself to look for the most commodious place for furnishing ourselves with the necessary supplies, and Captain Clerke went in his boat upon the same service. Early next morning I sent Lieutenant King to the east side of the bay, with two parties, one to cut wood and the other grass, under the protection of the marines, as, although none of the natives had appeared, there could be no doubt that some were in the neighbourhood. I also sent a launch for water, and afterwards visited all the parties myself. In the evening we drew the seine at the head of the bay, and at one haul caught a great quantity of fish; most of them were of that sort known to seamen by the name of elephant fish. In the afternoon, next day, we were agreeably surprised, while cutting wood, with a visit from eight men and a boy, natives of the country. They approached us from the woods, without betraying any marks of fear, for none of them had any weapons, except one, who held in his hand a stick, about two feet long and pointed at one end. They were of common stature, but rather slender. Their skin was black, and also their hair, which was as woolly as that of any native of Guinea; but they were not distinguished by remarkably thick lips nor flat noses. On the contrary, their features were far from being disagreeable; most of them had their hair and beards smeared with red ointment, and some had their faces also painted with the same composition. They received our presents without the least appearance of satisfaction, and when some bread was offered them they either returned it or threw it away without even tasting it. They also refused some elephant fish, both raw and dressed. However, upon giving them some birds, they did not return these, and easily made us comprehend that they were fond of such food. I had brought two pigs ashore with a view to leave them in the woods. The instant these came within reach they seized them, as a dog would have done, by the ears, and were carrying them off immediately, with no other apparent intention than to kill them.

Being desirous of knowing the use of the stick which one of our visitors carried in his hand, I made signs to them to show me, and so far succeeded that one of them set up a piece of wood as a mark, and threw at it from a distance of about twenty yards. But he had little reason to commend his dexterity, for, after repeated trials, he was still very wide of the mark. Omai, to show them how much superior our weapons were to theirs, then fired his musket at it, which alarmed them so much that, notwithstanding all he could do or say, they ran instantly into the woods. Thus ended our first interview with the natives.

Immediately after their final retreat I ordered the two pigs—being a boar and a sow—to be carried about a mile within the woods, at the head of the bay, and saw them left there, by the side of a fresh-water brook. A young bull and a cow, and some sheep and goats, were also at first intended to have been left by me, as an additional present to Van Diemen's Land. But I soon altered my intention, from a persuasion that the natives, incapable of entering into my views of improving their country, would destroy them.

The morning of the 29th we had a dead calm, which continued all day, and effectually prevented our sailing. I therefore sent a party over to the east point of the bay, to cut grass, and another, which I accompanied, to cut wood. We had observed several of the natives sauntering along the shore, which assured us that, though their consternation had made them leave us so abruptly the day before, they were convinced that we intended them no mischief, and were desirous of renewing the intercourse. We had not been long landed before about twenty of them, men and boys, joined us, without expressing the least sign of fear and distrust. One of this company was conspicuously deformed, but was not more distinguishable by the hump on his back than by the drollery of his gestures, and the seeming humour of his speeches, which he was very fond of exhibiting, as we supposed, for our entertainment. His language appeared to me to be different from that spoken by the inhabitants of the more northern parts of this country, whom I met with in my

first voyage, which is not extraordinary, since those we now saw and those we then visited differ in many other respects.

Some of our present group wore round their necks three or four loose folds of small cord, made of the fur of some animal, and others of them had a narrow slip of the kangaroo skin tied round their ankles. I gave to each of them a string of beads and a medal, which they appeared to receive with some satisfaction. They seemed to set no value on iron, or iron tools, and were even ignorant of the use of fish-hooks, if we might judge of their manner of looking at some of ours, which we showed to them, though it is certain they derive no inconsiderable part of their subsistence from the sea. We saw, however, no vessels in which they could go on the water. Their habitations were little sheds or hovels, built of sticks and covered with bark. After staying about an hour with the wooding party and the natives, I went over to the grass-cutters. Having seen the boats loaded, I returned on board to dinner, and some time after was joined by Lieutenant King. From him I learnt that soon after my departure several women and children made their appearance. These females wore a kangaroo skin tied over the shoulders and round the waist, apparently to support their children when carried on their backs, for in all other respects they were as naked as the men, and had their bodies tattooed in the same manner. They differed from the men in that as some of them had their heads completely shorn, in others this operation had been performed only on one side, while the rest of them had all the upper part of the head shorn close, leaving a circle of hair all round, somewhat like the tonsure of Romish priests. Many of the children had ~~fine~~ features and were thought pretty, but the same cannot be said of the persons of the women, especially those advanced in years.

Mr. Anderson, with his usual diligence, spent the few days we remained in Adventure Bay in examining the country. The only animal of the quadruped kind we got was a sort of opossum, about ~~the~~ the size of a large rat. It is of a dusky colour above, ~~tinged~~ with a brown or rusty cast, and whitish

below. About a third of the tail towards its tip is white, and bare underneath, by which it probably hangs on the branches of trees in its search for berries. The kangaroo, without doubt, is a native of this island, as the people we met with had some pieces of their skins; and we several times saw an animal, though indistinctly, in the woods, which, from its size, could be no other.

In the woods, the principal sorts of birds are large brown hawks, or eagles, crows, nearly the same as ours in England, yellowish parroquets, and large pigeons; there are also three or four small birds, one of which is of the thrush kind. On the shore were several common sea-gulls, a few black oystercatchers, or sea-pies, and a pretty plover, of a stone colour, with a black hood. About the lake, behind the beach, a few wild ducks were seen, and some shags used to perch upon the high leafless trees near the shore. The sea affords a more plentiful supply to the inhabitants, and at least as great a variety as the land. Of these, the elephant fish are the most numerous, and though inferior to many other fish, were very palatable food. Superior in quality to the elephant fish was a sort partaking of the nature both of a round and a flat fish, having the eyes placed very near each other, the fore part of the body very much flattened or depressed, and the rest rounded. It is of a brownish-sandy colour, with rusty spots on the upper part and below. From the quantity of slime it was always covered with, it seems to live after the manner of flat fish at the bottom. Upon the rocks are plenty of muscles and some other small shell-fish. There are also great numbers of sea-stars, some small limpets, and large quantities of sponge, one sort of which thrives on shore by the sea, and has a most delicate texture. Among the insects are grasshoppers, butterflies, and several sorts of small moths, finely variegated. There are two sorts of dragon-flies, gad-flies, camel-flies, several sorts of spiders, and some scorpions, but the last are rather rare. The most troublesome, though not very numerous tribe of insects, are the mosquitoes, and a large black ant, the pain of whose bite, while it lasts, is almost intolerable.

The inhabitants whom we met with here had little of that fierce and wild appearance common to people in their situation, but on the contrary seemed mild and cheerful, without reserve or jealousy of strangers. With respect to their personal activity or mental capacity, they do not seem to possess the first in any remarkable degree ; and as for the latter, they have apparently less than even the half-animated inhabitants of Terra del Fuego, who have not invention sufficient to make clothing for defending themselves from the rigour of the climate, though furnished with the materials. Their colour is a dull black, and not quite so deep as that of the African negro. Their hair, however, is perfectly woolly, and is clotted or divided into small parcels, like that of the Hottentots, with the use of some sort of grease, mixed with a red paint or ochre, which they smear in great abundance over their heads. Their noses, though not flat, are broad and full ; their eyes are of a middling size, with the white less clear than in us, and though not remarkably quick or piercing, such as give a frank, cheerful cast to the whole countenance. Their mouths are rather wide, and they wear their beards long, and clotted with paint in the same manner as the hair on their heads.

At eight o'clock in the morning of the 30th of January, a light breeze springing up at west, we weighed anchor and put to sea from Adventure Bay. We pursued our course to the eastward, without meeting with anything worthy of note, till the night of the 6th of February, when a marine belonging to the *Discovery* fell overboard, and was never seen afterwards.

On the 10th of February, at four in the afternoon, we discovered the land of New Zealand ; and soon after came to an anchor in Queen Charlotte's Sound. Here several canoes filled with natives came alongside of the ships ; but very few of them would venture on board, which appeared the more extraordinary as I was well known by them all. There was one man in particular among them whom I had treated with remarkable kindness during the whole of my stay when I was last there. Yet now, neither professions of friendship nor

presents would prevail upon him to come into the ship. This shyness was to be accounted for only on the supposition that they were apprehensive we had revisited their country in order to revenge the death of Captain Furneaux's people.

On the 13th we set up two tents, one from each ship, on the same spot we had pitched them formerly. The observatories were at the same time erected, and Messrs. King and Bayley began their operations immediately. During the course of this day a great number of families came from different parts of the coast, and took up their residence close to us ; so that there was not a spot in the cove, where a hut could be put up, that was not occupied by them, except the place where we had fixed our encampment. It is curious to observe with what facility they build their little huts. I have seen above twenty of them erected on a spot of ground, that not an hour before was covered with shrubs and plants. They generally bring some part of the materials with them, and the rest they find upon the spot.

Besides the natives who took up their abode close to us, we were occasionally visited by others whose residence was not far off ; and by some who lived more remote. Their articles of commerce were curiosities and fish, which came to a good market. The seamen, however, had taken a kind of dislike to these people, and were either unwilling or afraid to associate with them, which produced this good effect, that I knew no instance of a man's quitting his station to go to their habitations. Amongst our occasional visitors was a chief named Kahoorā, who, as I was informed, headed the party that cut off Captain Furneaux's people, and himself killed Mr. Rowe, the officer who commanded. To judge of the character of Kahoorā, by what I had heard from many of his countrymen, he seemed to be more feared than beloved among them. Not satisfied with telling me that he was a very bad man, some of them even importuned me to kill him ; and I believe they were not a little surprised that I did not listen to them, for, according to their ideas of equity, this ought to have been done. If I had followed the advice of all our pretended friends, I might have extirpated the whole

race, for the people of each hamlet or village by turns applied to me to destroy the other.

At daybreak on the 16th I set out with a party of men in five boats, to collect food for our cattle. Captain Clerke, and several of the officers, also Omai, and two of the natives, accompanied me. We proceeded about three leagues up the sound and then landed on the east side, at a place where I had formerly been. Here we cut as much grass as loaded the two launches. As we returned down the Sound, we visited Grass Cove, memorable as the scene of the massacre of Captain Furneaux's people. Whilst we were at this place our curiosity prompted us to inquire into the circumstances attending the melancholy fate of our countrymen, and Omai was made use of as interpreter for this purpose. The natives present answered all the questions that were put to them on the subject without reserve, and like men who are under no dread of punishment for a crime of which they are not guilty; for we already knew that none of them had been concerned in the unhappy transaction. They told us, that while our people were sitting at dinner, surrounded by several of the natives, some of the latter stole, or snatched from them, some bread and fish, for which they were beaten. This being resented, a quarrel ensued, and two New Zealanders were shot dead, by the only two muskets that were fired; but before our people had time to discharge a third, or to load again those that had been fired, the natives rushed in upon them, overpowered them with their numbers, and put them all to death. We stayed here till the evening, when, having loaded the rest of the boats with grass, celery, and scurvy-grass, we embarked to return to the ships, where some of the boats did not arrive till one o'clock the next morning; and it was fortunate that they got on board then, for it afterwards blew a perfect storm. In the evening the gale ceased, and the wind having veered to the east, brought with it fair weather.

By this time more than two-thirds of the inhabitants of the Sound had settled themselves about us. Great numbers of them daily frequented the ships while our people were busy

melting some seal-blubber. No Greenlander was ever fonder of train-oil than our friends here seemed to be. They relished the very skimmings of the kettle, but a little of the pure stinking oil was a delicious feast. Having got on board as much hay and grass as we judged sufficient to serve the cattle till our arrival at Otaheite, and having completed the wood and water of both ships, on the 24th of February we weighed anchor and stood out of the cove. While we were unmooring and getting under sail, many of the natives came to take their leave of us, or rather to obtain, if they could, some additional presents from us before our departure. Accordingly, I gave to two of their chiefs, two pigs, a boar, and a sow. They made me a promise not to kill them, though I must own I put no great faith in this. The animals which Captain Furneaux sent on shore here, and which soon after fell into the hands of the natives, I was now told were all dead ; but I was afterwards informed that Tiratou, a chief, had a great many cocks and hens in his possession and one of the sows.

We had not been long at anchor near Motuara before three or four canoes, filled with natives, came off to us from the south-east side of the Sound, and a brisk trade was carried on with them for the curiosities of this place. In one of these canoes was Kahoora. This was the third time he had visited us without betraying the smallest appearance of fear. Next morning, he returned again with his whole family—men, women, and children to the number of twenty and upwards. Omai was the first who acquainted me with his being alongside the ship, and desired to know if he should ask him to come on board. I told him he might, and accordingly he introduced the chief into the cabin, saying, "There is Kahoora ; kill him !" He afterwards expostulated with me very earnestly. "Why do you not kill him? You tell me if a man kills another in England that he is hanged for it. This man has killed ten, and yet you will not kill him, though many of his countrymen desire it, and it would be very good." Omai's arguments, though specious enough, having no weight with me, I desired him



to ask the chief why he had killed Captain Furneaux's people. At this question Kahoora folded his arms, hung down his head, and looked like one caught in a trap, and I firmly believe he expected instant death ; but no sooner was he assured of his safety than he became cheerful. He did not, however, seem willing to give me an answer to the question that had been put to him till I had again and again repeated my promise that he should not be hurt. Then he ventured to tell us that one of his countrymen having brought a stone hatchet to barter, the man to whom it was offered, took it, and would neither return it nor give up anything for it, on which the owner of it snatched up the bread as an equivalent, and then the quarrel began.

For some time before we arrived at New Zealand, Omai had expressed a desire to take one of the natives with him to his own country. We had not been there many days before a youth, about seventeen or eighteen years of age, named Taweharooa, offered to accompany him. Finding that he was fixed in his resolution to go with us, and having learnt that he was the only son of a deceased chief, I told his mother that in all probability he never would return ; but this made no impression on either, for when she returned the next morning, to take her last farewell of him, all the time she was on board she remained quite cheerful, and went away wholly unconcerned. Another youth, about ten years of age, accompanied him as a servant, named Kokoa ; he was presented to me by his own father, who stripped him, and left him naked as he was born ; indeed, he seemed to part with him with perfect indifference.

From my own observations, and from the information of Taweharooa and others, it appears to me that the New Zealanders must live under perpetual apprehension of being destroyed by each other, there being few of their tribes that have not, as they think, sustained wrongs from some other tribe, which they are continually upon the watch to revenge. A New Zealander is never off his guard either by night or by day ; indeed, no one can have more powerful motives to be vigilant, for, according to their system of belief, the soul

of the man whose flesh is devoured by the enemy is doomed to a perpetual fire ; whilst the soul of the man whose body has been rescued from those who killed him, as well as the souls of all who die a natural death, ascend to the habitations of the gods.

Polygamy is allowed amongst these people, and it is not uncommon for a man to have two or three wives. The women are marriageable at a very early age ; and it would appear that one who is unmarried is but in a forlorn state. Their public contentions are frequent, or rather perpetual ; for it appears from their number of weapons and dexterity in using them, that war is their principal profession. Before they begin the onset they join in a war-song, to which they all keep exactest time, and soon raise their passions to a degree of frantic fury, attended with the most horrid distortion of the eyes, mouths, and tongues, to strike terror into their enemies, which makes them appear to those who have not been accustomed to such a practice more like demons than men, and would almost chill the boldest with fear. After the battle succeed the horrid orgies of cannibalism, when, after cutting in pieces, even while yet alive, the bodies of their enemies, and dressing them on a fire, they devour the flesh, not only without reluctance, but with peculiar satisfaction.

On the 25th of February we sailed from New Zealand, and had no sooner lost sight of the land than our two young adventurers repented heartily of the step they had taken. All the soothing encouragement we could think of availed but little. They wept both in public and private, and made their lamentations in a kind of song, which was expressive of the praises of their country. Thus they continued for many days ; but at length their native country and their friends were forgotten, and they appeared to be as firmly attached to us as if they had been born amongst us.

On the 29th of March, as we were standing to the north-east, the *Discovery* made the signal of seeing land, which we soon discovered to be an island of no great extent. On approaching the shore, we could perceive with our glasses that several of the natives were armed with long spears and clubs,

which they brandished in the air with signs of threatening or, as some on board interpreted their attitudes, with invitations to land. Most of them appeared naked, except having a sort of girdle, which, being brought up between the thighs, covered that part of the body. But some of them had pieces of cloth of different colours, white, striped, or chequered, which they wore as a garment thrown about their shoulders, and almost all of them had a white wrapper about their heads, not unlike a turban. They were of a tawny colour, and of a middling stature. At this time a small canoe was launched in a great hurry from the further end of the beach, and putting off with two men, paddled towards us, when I brought to. They stopped short, however, as if afraid to approach, until Omai, who addressed them in the Otaheitean language, in some measure quieted their apprehensions. They then came near enough to take some beads and nails, which were tied to a piece of wood and thrown into the canoe. Omai, perhaps improperly, put the question to them, whether they ever ate human flesh? which they answered in the negative with a mixture of indignation and abhorrence. One of them, whose name was Mourooa, being asked how he came by a scar on his forehead, told us that it was the consequence of a wound he had got in fighting with the people of an island, which lies to the north-eastward, who sometimes came to invade their country. They afterwards took hold of a rope, but still would not venture on board.

Mourooa was lusty and well made, but not very tall. His features were agreeable, and his disposition seemingly no less so, for he made several droll gesticulations which indicated both good-nature and a share of humour. His colour was nearly of the same cast with that common to the people of Southern Europe. The other man was not so handsome. Both of them had strong straight hair of a jet colour, tied together on the crown of the head with a bit of cloth. They wore girdles of a substance made from the *Morus papyrifera*, in the same manner as at the other islands of this ocean. They had on a kind of sandals made of a grassy substance interwoven, and as supposed, intended to defend their feet

from the rough coral rock. Their beards were long, and the inside of their arms, from the shoulders to the elbows, and some other parts, were punctured or tattooed after the manner of the inhabitants of almost all the other islands in the South Sea. The lobe of their ears was slit to such a length, that one of them stuck there a knife and some beads which he had received from us, and the same person had two polished pearl shells, and a bunch of human hair, loosely twisted, hanging about his neck, which was the only ornament we observed. The canoe they came in was not above 10 feet long, and very narrow, but both strong and neatly made. They paddled either end of it forward indifferently.

We now stood off and on, and as soon as the ships were in a proper station, I ordered two boats to sound the coast, and endeavour to find a landing-place. With this view I went in one of them myself, taking with me such articles to give the natives as I thought might serve to gain their goodwill. I had no sooner put off from the ship, than the canoe with the two men, which had not left us long before, paddled towards my boat, and having come alongside, Mourroa stepped into her without being asked and without a moment's hesitation. Omai, who was with me, was ordered to inquire of him where we could land, and he directed us to two different places. But I saw, with regret, that the attempt could not be made at either place, unless at the risk of having our boats filled with water, or even staved to pieces. Nor were we more fortunate in our search for an anchorage, as we could find no bottom till within a cable's length of the breakers.

While we were thus employed in reconnoitring the shore, great numbers of the natives thronged down upon the reef, all armed. Mourroa, who was in my boat, probably thinking that this warlike appearance hindered us from landing, ordered them to retire back. As many of them complied I judged he must be a person of some consequence among them; indeed, if we understood him right, he was the king's brother. So great was the curiosity of several of the natives that they took to the water, and, swimming off to the boats, came on board them without reserve. Nay, we found it difficult to

keep them out, and still more difficult to prevent them carrying off everything they could lay their hands upon. At length, when they perceived that we were returning to the ships, they all left us, except our original visitor, Mouroua; he, though not without evident signs of fear, kept his place in my boat, and accompanied me on board the ship.

The cattle and other new objects that presented themselves to our visitor, did not strike him with much surprise. Perhaps his mind was too much taken up about his own safety to allow him to attend to other things. I could get but little information from him, and therefore, after he had made a short stay, I ordered a boat to carry him in toward the land. As soon as he got out of the cabin he happened to stumble over one of the goats. His curiosity now overcoming his fear, he stopped, looked at it, and asked Omai what bird this was, and not receiving an immediate answer from him, he repeated the question to some of the people upon deck. The boat having conveyed him pretty near to the surf, he leaped into the sea and swam ashore. He had no sooner landed than a multitude of his countrymen gathered round him as if in eager curiosity to learn from him what he had seen, and in this situation remained when we lost sight of them.

After leaving Mangeca, as this island was called, on the afternoon of the 30th of March, we continued our course northward all that night and till noon on the 31st, when we again saw land in the direction of north-east by north, distant eight or ten leagues, and next morning we got abreast of its north end. I sent three armed boats to look for anchoring ground and a landing-place. In the meantime we worked up under the island with the ships. Just as the boats were putting off, we observed several single canoes coming from the shore. They first went to the *Discovery*, she being the nearest ship; and soon after, three of the canoes came alongside the *Resolution*, each conducted by one man. They are long and narrow, and supported by outriggers. Some knives, beads, and other trifles were conveyed to our visitors, who gave us a few cocoa-nuts upon our asking for them, though they did not part with them by way of exchange for what they had

received from us, for they seemed to have no idea of bartering, nor did they appear to estimate any of our presents at a high rate. With a little persuasion one of them came on board, and the other two, encouraged by his example, soon followed him. Their whole behaviour denoted that they were quite at ease.

After their departure another canoe arrived, conducted by a man who brought a bunch of plantains specially as a present to me, for whom he asked by name, which he had learnt from Omai, who was sent before us in a boat with Mr. Gore. In return for this civility I gave him an axe and a piece of red cloth, when he paddled back to the shore well satisfied. I afterwards understood from Omai that this present was sent from the king or principal chief of the island. Not long after, a double canoe, in which were twelve men, came towards us, who, as they drew near the ship, recited some words in concert, by way of chorus, one of their number first standing up, and giving the word before each repetition. When they had finished their solemn chant, they came alongside and asked for the chief. As soon as I showed myself, a pig and a few cocoa-nuts were conveyed up into the ship, and the principal person in the canoe made me an additional present of a piece of matting. Our visitors were conducted into the cabin and to other parts of the ship, where some objects seemed to strike them with a degree of surprise, though nothing fixed their attention for a moment. They were afraid to come near the cows and horses, nor did they form the least conception of their nature. But the sheep and goats did not surpass the limits of their understanding, for they gave us to understand that they knew them to be birds. I made a present to my new friend of what I thought would be most acceptable to him, but on his going away he seemed rather disappointed than pleased. I afterwards understood that he was very desirous of obtaining a dog, of which animal this island could not boast.

The people in these canoes were, in general, of a middling size, and not unlike those of Mangena, though several were

of a blacker cast than any we saw there. Their features were various, and some of the young men rather handsome. Like those of Mangeca, they had girdles of glazed cloth, or fine matting, the ends of which, being brought betwixt the thighs, covered the adjoining parts. Ornaments composed of a sort of broad grass, stained with red, and strung with berries of the nightshade, were worn round their necks. Their ears were bored but not slit, and they were punctured upon their legs, from the knee to the heel, which made them appear as though they wore a kind of boots. Their behaviour was frank and cheerful, with a great deal of good-nature. Soon after daybreak we saw some canoes coming off to the ships, and one of them directed its course to the *Resolution*. In it was a hog, with some plantains and cocoa-nuts, for which the people who brought them demanded a dog, and refused every other thing that we offered in exchange. To gratify these people Omai parted with a favourite dog he had brought from England, and with this acquisition they departed highly satisfied.

I despatched Lieut. Gore with three boats, two from the *Resolution* and one from the *Discovery*. Two of the natives, who had been on board, accompanied him, and also Omai, who went in his boat as interpreter. The ships being a full league from the island when the boats put off, it was noon before we could work up to it. We then perceived a prodigious number of the natives abreast of the boats. In order to observe their motions, and to be ready to give such assistance as our people might want, I kept as near the shore as was prudent. Some of the islanders now and then came off to the ships in their canoes, with a few cocoa-nuts, which they exchanged for anything that was offered to them. These occasional visits served to lessen my solicitude about the people who had landed, for though we could get no information from our visitors, yet their venturing on board seemed to imply that their countrymen on shore had not made an improper use of the confidence placed in them. At length, a little before sunset, we had the satisfaction of seeing the boats put off. When they got on board, I found

that Mr. Gore himself, Omai, Mr. Anderson, and Mr. Burney, were the only persons who had landed.

Omai was Mr. Gore's interpreter; but that was not the only service he performed this day, for being asked by the natives a great many questions concerning us, his answers, according to the account he gave me, were not a little marvellous; for instance, he told them that our country had ships as large as their island, on board which were instruments of war of such dimensions, that several people might sit within them; and that one of these was sufficient to crush the whole island at one shot. This led them to inquire what sort of guns we actually had in our two ships. He said that though they were but small, in comparison with those he had just described, yet, with such as they were, we could, with the greatest ease, and at the distance the ships were from the shore, destroy the island and kill every soul in it. They persevered in their inquiries regarding the means by which this could be done, and Omai explained the matter as well as he could. He happened luckily to have a few cartridges in his pocket, which were produced; the balls and the gunpowder were submitted to inspection, and to supply the defects of his description. In the centre of a circle formed by the natives, the inconsiderable quantity of gunpowder, collected from his cartridges, was properly disposed upon the ground, and set alight by means of a bit of burning wood from the oven where the dinner was dressing. The sudden blast, and loud report, the mingled flame and smoke that instantly succeeded, now filled the whole assembly with astonishment. They no longer doubted the tremendous power of our weapons, and gave full credit to all Omai had said. This probably induced them to liberate the gentlemen, whom they, at first, appeared inclined to detain.

Omai found three of his countrymen here, whose story is an affecting one, as related by him. About twenty persons had embarked on board a canoe at Otaheite, to cross over to the neighbouring island, Ulietea. A violent contrary wind arising, they could neither reach the latter nor get back to the former. The intended passage being a very short one,



their stock of provisions was very scanty, and soon exhausted. The hardships they suffered, while driven along by the storm, are not to be conceived, and they passed many days without sustenance. Their numbers gradually diminished, until, worn out by famine and fatigue, four only survived, when the canoe upset ; however, they kept hanging by the side of the vessel till Providence brought them in sight of the people of this island, who immediately sent out canoes and brought them ashore. Of the four one was since dead, but the three survivors spoke highly of the treatment they here met with ; and so well satisfied were they with their situation, that they refused the offer made to them, at Omai's request, of giving them a passage on board our ships, to restore them to their native islands. This will serve to explain better than a thousand conjectures, how the detached parts of the earth, and in particular how the islands of the South Seas, may have been first peopled, especially those that lie remote from any inhabited continent, or from each other.

With a gentle breeze at east we got up with Watecoo on the 3rd of April, and I immediately despatched Mr. Gore with two boats to endeavour to procure some food for our cattle. As there seemed to be no inhabitants here to obstruct our taking away whatever we might think proper, our boats no sooner reached the west side of the island than they ventured in, and Mr. Gore and his party got safe on shore. The supply obtained here consisted of about a hundred cocoa-nuts for each ship ; we also got our cattle some grass, and a quantity of the "wharra" tree, as it is called at Otaheite. Though there were at this time no settled inhabitants upon the island, indubitable marks remained of its being at least occasionally frequented ; in particular, a few empty huts were found, in one of which Mr. Gore left a hatchet and some nails, to the value of what we took away.

As soon as the boats were hoisted in, I made sail again to the northward. Although Hervey's Island, discovered in 1773, was not above fifteen leagues distant, yet we did not sight it till daybreak in the morning. As we drew near it we observed several canoes put off towards the ships, each

containing from three to six men. They stopped at the distance of about a stone's throw from the ship, and it was some time before Omai could prevail upon them to come alongside; but no entreaties could induce any of them to venture on board. Indeed, their disorderly and clamorous behaviour by no means indicated a disposition to trust us or treat us well. We afterwards learnt that they had attempted to take some oars out of the *Discovery's* boat that lay alongside, and struck a man who endeavoured to prevent them. They also cut away, with a shell, a net with meat which hung over the ship's stern, and absolutely refused to restore it, though we afterwards purchased it of them. Those who were about our ship behaved in the same daring manner. At the same time they immediately showed a knowledge of bartering, and sold some fish they had for small nails, of which they were immoderately fond, and called them "goore." They also caught with the greatest avidity bits of paper or anything else that was thrown to them. These people seemed to differ, as much in person as in disposition, from the natives of Wateoo, though the distance between the two islands is not great. Their colour was of a deeper cast, and several had a fierce, rugged aspect resembling the natives of New Zealand. The polished shell of a pearl oyster, hung about their neck, was the only personal decoration that we observed amongst them, for not one of them had adopted that mode of ornament, so generally prevalent amongst the natives of this ocean, of puncturing or tattooing their bodies. Though singular in this, we had the most unequivocal proofs of their being of the same common race, and their language approached still nearer to the dialect of Otaheite than that of Wateoo or Mangea.

Having but very little wind, it was one o'clock before we drew near the north-west part of the island, when I sent Lieutenant King, with two armed boats, to sound and reconnoitre the coast, while the ships stood off and on. At three o'clock the boats returned, and Mr. King informed me that there was no anchorage for the ships, and that the boats could only land on the outer edge of the reef, which lay about a

quarter of a mile from the dry land. He said that a number of the natives came down upon the reef, armed with long pikes and clubs, but as he had no motive to land, he did not give them an opportunity to use them. If I had been so fortunate as to have procured a supply of water and of grass at any of the islands we had lately visited, it was my intention to have stood back to the south till I had met with a westerly wind. But the certain consequence of doing this without such a supply would have been the loss of all the cattle before we could possibly reach Otaheite, without gaining one advantage with regard to the great object of our voyage. I therefore determined to bear away for the Friendly Islands, where I was sure of meeting with abundance of everything I wanted.

On the 7th of April I steered west by south, with a fine breeze easterly. I proposed to proceed first to Middleburgh, or Eooa, thinking, if the wind continued favourable, that we had food enough on board for the cattle to last till we should reach that island; but about noon on the next day, those faint breezes that had attended and retarded us so long, again returned, and I found it necessary to haul more to the north, to get into the latitude of Palmerston and Savage Islands, discovered in 1774, during my last voyage, so that, if necessity required it, we might have recourse to them. At length, at daybreak on the 13th, we saw Palmerston Island, distant about five leagues, though we did not reach it till eight o'clock the next morning. I then sent four boats, with an officer in each to search the coast for the most convenient landing-place.

The boats first examined the south-easternmost part, and failing there, ran down to the east, where we had the satisfaction of seeing them land. About one o'clock one of the boats came on board, laden with scurvy-grass and young cocoa-nut trees, which afforded a feast for the cattle. Before evening I went ashore in a small boat, accompanied by Captain Clerke, and landing in a small creek, found everybody hard at work. Upon the bushes that front the sea, or even farther in, we found a great number of men-of-war birds, tropic birds, and two sorts of boobies, which, at this

time, were laying their eggs, and so tame that they suffered us to take them off with our hands.

At one part of the reef, which looks into or bounds the lake that is within, there was a large bed of coral, almost even with the surface, which affords, perhaps, one of the most enchanting prospects that nature has anywhere produced. Its base was fixed to the shore, but reached so far in, that it could not be seen, so that it seemed to be suspended in the water, which deepened so suddenly, that, at the distance of a few yards, there might be seven or eight fathoms. The sea was, at this time, quite unruffled; and the sun shining brightly, exposed the various sorts of coral in the most beautiful order. This scene was enlivened by numerous species of fishes gliding along in apparent security. There were no traces of inhabitants having ever been here, if we except a small piece of a canoe that was found upon the beach, which might have drifted from some other island. After the boats were laden, I returned on board, leaving Mr. Gore with a party to pass the night on shore, in order to be ready to commence work early next morning. Next day was accordingly spent, as the preceding one had been, in collecting food for the cattle. Having secured a sufficient supply by sunset, I ordered everybody on board, but there being little or no wind, I determined to wait, and to employ the following day in trying to get some cocoa-nuts from the next island, where we could observe that those trees were in greater abundance than where we had already landed. With this view, I went with the boats to the west side of the island, and having landed with little difficulty, immediately set the people to gather cocoa-nuts, which we found in great abundance. Omai, who was with me, caught with a scoop net, in a very short time, as much fish as served the whole party on shore for dinner, besides sending some to both ships. Here were also great abundance of birds, particularly men-of-war and tropic birds; so that we fared sumptuously. Omai was of the greatest use in these excursions, for he not only caught the fish, but dressed them and the birds we killed in an oven with heated stones, after the fashion of his country, with a

dexterity and good-humour that did him great credit. We found this islet nearly a half larger than the other, and almost entirely covered with cocoa-palms, so that we got there above twelve hundred cocoa-nuts, which were equally divided amongst the whole crew.

The nine or ten low islets, comprehended under the name of Palmerston Island, may be reckoned the heads or summits of the reef of coral rocks that connects them together, covered only with a thin coat of sand, yet clothed, as already observed, with trees and plants. The heat, which had been great for a month, became now much more disagreeable from the close rainy weather, and, from the moisture attending it, threatened soon to be noxious. However, it is remarkable that though the only fresh provisions we had received since leaving the Cape of Good Hope was that at New Zealand, there was not a single person sick on board from the constant use of salt food, or vicissitudes of climate.

In the night of the 24th of April we passed Savage Island, which I had discovered in 1774. I steered for the south, and then hauled up for Annamooka. It was no sooner daylight than we were visited by six or seven canoes from different islands, bringing with them, besides fruits and roots, two pigs, several fowls, some large wood-pigeons, small rails, and large violet-coloured coots. All these they exchanged with us for beads, nails, hatchets, &c. They had also other articles of commerce, but I ordered that no curiosities should be purchased till the ships had been supplied with provisions, and leave had been given for that purpose. Knowing also, from experience, that if all our people traded with the natives according to their own caprice, perpetual quarrels would ensue, I ordered that particular persons should manage the traffic both on board and on shore, prohibiting others to interfere. Before mid-day, Mr. King, who had been sent to Kamango, returned with seven hogs, some fowls, a quantity of fruit and roots, and some grass for the cattle. His party was very civilly treated at Kamango, the inhabitants of which did not seem to be numerous. Their huts, which stood close to each other within a plantain walk, were but

indifferent, and not far from them was a pretty large pond of fresh water, tolerably good, but there was no appearance of any stream. The chief of the island, named Tooboulangee, and another, whose name was Taipa, came on board with Mr. King. They brought with them a hog as a present to me, promising more the next day, and they kept their word.

I now resumed the very same station which I had occupied when I visited Annamooka three years before, and probably almost in the same place where Tasman, the first discoverer of this and some of the neighbouring islands, anchored in 1643. The following day I went ashore, accompanied by Captain Clerke. Toobou, the chief of the island, conducted me and Omai to his house, which we found situated on a pleasant spot in the centre of his plantations. While we were on shore we procured a few hogs and some fruit by bartering, and before we got on board again, the ships were crowded with the natives; few of them coming empty-handed, every sort of provision was now plentiful. I landed again in the afternoon with a party of marines; and, at the same time, the horses and such of the cattle as were in a sickly state were sent on shore. Everything being settled to my satisfaction, I returned to the ship at sunset, leaving the command upon the island to Mr. King. Next day, May 3rd, our various operations on shore began. In the evening, before the natives retired from our post, Taipa harangued them for some time. We could only guess at the subject, and judged that he was instructing them how to behave towards us, and encouraging them to bring the produce of the island to market, for on the following day we experienced the good effects of his eloquence in the plentiful supply of provisions we received.

On the 6th we were visited by a great chief from Tongataboo, whose name was Feenou, and whom Taipa introduced to us as king of all the Friendly Isles. All the natives made their obeisance to him by bowing their heads as low as his feet, the soles of which they also touched with each hand, first with the palm and then with the back part; and there would be little room to suspect that a person received with

so much respect could be anything less than the king. In the afternoon I went to pay this great man a visit, having first received a present of two fish from him, brought on board by one of his servants. As soon as I landed he came up to me, and appeared to be about thirty years of age, tall, but thin, with more of the European cast of features than any I had yet seen here. After a short stay, our new visitor and five or six of his attendants accompanied me on board. I gave suitable presents to them all, and entertained them in such a manner as I thought would be most agreeable. In the evening I attended them on shore in my boat, into which the chief ordered three hogs to be put, as a return for the presents he had received from me.

The first day of our arrival at Annamooka, one of the natives had stolen out of the ship a large junk axe ; I now applied to Feenou, who was my guest on the 8th, to exert his authority to get it restored to me, and so implicitly was he obeyed, that it was brought on board while we were at dinner. These people gave us very frequent opportunities of remarking what expert thieves they were, and even some of the chiefs did not refrain from stealing. On the lower class a flogging seemed to make no greater impression than it would have done upon the mainmast, and when any of them happened to be caught in the act, their superiors, far from interceding for them, would often advise us to kill them. As this was a punishment we did not choose to inflict, they generally escaped without any punishment, until Captain Clerke at length hit upon a mode of treatment which appeared to have some effect. He put them under the hands of the barber, and completely shaved their heads, thus pointing them out as objects of ridicule to their countrymen, and enabling our people to deprive them of future opportunities to repeat their rogueries, by keeping them at a distance.

Feenou, understanding that I meant to proceed directly to Tongataboo, importuned me strongly to alter this plan, to which he expressed as much aversion as if he had some particular interest to promote by diverting me from it. In preference to it, he warmly recommended an island, or rather

a group of islands, called Hapae, lying to the north-east. There, he assured us, we could be supplied plentifully with provisions, in the easiest manner ; and to add weight to his advice, he engaged to attend us thither in person. He carried his point, and Hapae was made choice of for our next station ; as it had never been visited by any European ships, the examination of it became an object with me. After some unimportant transactions, at daybreak, in the morning of the 16th, we steered north-east for Hapae, which was now in sight. Next day we came to an anchor, and the ships were soon filled with the natives. They brought hogs, fowls, fruit, and roots, which they exchanged for hatchets, knives, nails, beads, and cloth. I went on shore, accompanied by Omai and Feenou, landing at the north part of Lefooga, a little to the right of the ship's station. The chief conducted me to a hut situated close to the sea-beach, which I had seen brought thither, but a few moments before, for our reception ; Feenou, Omai, and I seated ourselves, while the other chiefs and the multitude formed a circle on the outside, and also sat down. I was then asked how long I intended to stay ? On my replying five days, Taipa was ordered to come and sit by me, and proclaim this to the people. He then harangued them in a speech mostly dictated by Feenou ; the purport of it, as I learned from Omai, was, that they were all, both old and young, to look upon me as a friend, who intended to remain with them a few days ; that, during my stay, they must not steal anything, or molest me in any other way ; and that it was expected that they should bring hogs, fowls, fruits, &c., to the ships, where they would receive in exchange for them such and such articles, which he enumerated. Taipa then took occasion to signify to me, that it was necessary I should make a present to the chief of the island, whose name was Earoupa. I was not unprepared for this ; and gave him some articles that far exceeded his expectations. My liberality brought on me new demands, of the same kind, from the chiefs of other isles who were present, and from Taipa himself.

After viewing the watering-place we returned to our former



station, where I found a baked hog and some yams, smoking hot, ready to be carried on board for my dinner. I invited Feenou and his friends to partake of it, and we embarked for the ship, though none but himself sat down with us at the table. After dinner I conducted them on shore, and before I returned on board, the chief gave me a fine large turtle and a quantity of yams. Our supply of provisions was copious, for in the course of the day we got, by barter, alongside the ship, about twenty small hogs, besides fruit and roots. Next morning early, Feenou and Omai, who scarcely ever quitted the chief, and now slept on shore, came on board. The object of the visit was to require my presence upon the island. I saw a large concourse of people already assembled, and guessed that something more than ordinary was in agitation, but could not tell what, nor could Omai inform me. I had not long landed before a hundred of the natives appeared in sight, and advanced laden with yams, bread-fruit, plantains, cocoa-nuts, and sugar-canes. They deposited their burthens in two piles, or heaps, on our left. Soon after a number of others arrived, bearing the same kind of articles, which were collected into two heaps on the right; to these were tied two pigs and six fowls, and to those on the left six pigs and two turtles. As soon as this munificent collection of provisions was laid down in order, and disposed to the best advantage, the bearers of it joined the multitude, who formed a large circle round the whole. Presently after a number of men entered the circle, or area, before us, armed with clubs, made of the green branches of the cocoa-nut tree; they paraded about for a few minutes, and then retired, one half to one side and the other half to the other side, seating themselves before the spectators. Soon after they successively entered the lists, and entertained us with single combats: one champion rising up and stepping forward from one side, challenged those of the other side, by expressive gestures more than by words, to send one of their body to oppose him. If the challenge was accepted, which was generally the case, the two combatants put themselves in proper attitude, and then began the engagement, which continued

till one or other owned himself conquered, or till their weapons were broken. As soon as each combat was over the victor squatted himself down, facing the chief, and then rose up and retired. At the same time some old men, who seemed to sit as judges, applauded them in a few words, and the multitude, especially those on the side to which the victor belonged, celebrated the glory he acquired in two or three huzzas.

This entertainment was now and then suspended for a few minutes, and during these intervals there were both wrestling and boxing matches. The first were performed in the same manner as at Otaheite, and the second differed very little from the method practised in England. But what struck us most with surprise was to see a couple of lusty wenches step forth and begin boxing, without the least ceremony, and with as much art as the men. This contest, however, did not last above half a minute before one of them gave in ; the conquering heroine received the same applause from the spectators which they bestowed on the successful combatants of the other sex. We expressed some dislike at this part of the entertainment, which, however, did not prevent the other females from entering the lists. They appeared to be girls of spirit, and would certainly have given each other a good drubbing if the old women had not interposed between them. All these combats were exhibited in the midst of at least 3,000 people, and were conducted with the greatest good humour on all sides.

As soon as these diversions were ended, the chief told me that the heaps of provisions on our right hand were a present to Omai, and those on our left hand, being about two-thirds of the whole quantity, were given to me. He added that I might take them on board whenever it was convenient, but that there would be no occasion to set any of our people as guards over them, as I might be assured that not a single cocoa-nut would be taken away by the natives. So it proved, for I left everything behind, and returned to the ship to dinner, carrying the chief with me ; and when the provisions were removed on board in the afternoon, not a single article

was missing. There was as much as loaded two boats, and I could not but be struck with the munificence of Feenou, for this present far exceeded any I had ever received from any of the sovereigns of the various islands I had visited in the Pacific Ocean. I lost no time in convincing our friend that I was not insensible of his liberality, for, before he quitted the ship, I bestowed upon him such commodities as I guessed were most valuable in his estimation.

Feenou had expressed a desire to see the marines go through the military exercise; and, as I was desirous of gratifying his curiosity, I ordered them all ashore from both ships in the morning. After they had performed various evolutions and fired several volleys, with which the numerous body of spectators seemed well pleased, the chief entertained us, in his turn, with an exhibition which, as was acknowledged by us all, was performed with a dexterity and exactness far surpassing the specimen we had given of our different manœuvres. It was a kind of dance so entirely different from anything I had ever seen, that I can give no description that will convey any tolerable idea of it to my readers. It was performed by men, and 105 persons took part in it. Each of them had in his hand an instrument neatly made, shaped somewhat like a paddle, two feet and a half in length, with a small handle and a thin blade, so that they were very light. With these instruments they made many and various flourishes, each of which was accompanied with a different movement. At first the performers ranged themselves in three lines, and by various evolutions each man changed his station in such a manner, that those who had been in the rear came to the front. Nor did they remain long in the same position. At one time they extended themselves in one line; they then formed in a semicircle, and lastly in two square columns. While this last movement was executing, one of them advanced and performed an antic dance before me, with which the whole ended. The musical instruments consisted of two drums, or rather two hollow logs of wood, from which some varied notes were produced by beating on them with two sticks. It did not, however, appear to me

that the dancers were much assisted by these sounds, but by a chorus of vocal music, in which all the performers joined at the same time. Their song was not destitute of pleasing melody, and all their corresponding motions were executed with so much skill, that the numerous body of dancers seemed to act as if they were one great machine. It was the opinion of every one of us, that such a performance would have met with universal applause in a European theatre ; and it so far exceeded any attempt we had made to entertain them, that they seemed to pique themselves upon the superiority they had over us. As to our musical instruments, they held none of them in the least esteem, except the drum, and even that they did not think equal to their own.

In order to give them a more favourable opinion of English amusements, and to leave their minds fully impressed with the deepest sense of our superior attainments, I directed some fireworks to be got ready, and after it was dark played them off in the presence of Feenou, the other chiefs, and a vast concourse of their people. Our water and sky rockets, in particular, pleased and astonished them beyond all conception, and the scale was now turned in our favour. This, however, seemed only to furnish them with an additional motive to proceed to fresh exertions of their very singular dexterity ; and our fireworks were no sooner ended, than a succession of dances began. As a prelude to them, a band of music or chorus of eighteen men seated themselves before us in the centre of the circle. Four or five of this band had pieces of large bamboo, from three to five or six feet long, the upper end open, but the other end closed by one of the joints. With this closed end the performers kept constantly striking the ground, though slowly, thus producing different notes, according to the different lengths of the instruments, but all of them of the hollow or bass sort ; to counteract which, a person kept striking quickly, and with two sticks, a piece of the same substance, split and laid along the ground, and by that means furnishing a tone as acute as those produced by the others were grave. The rest of the band, as well as those who performed upon the bamboo,

sang a slow and soft air, which so tempered upon the harsher notes of the above instrument, that no bystander, however accustomed to hear the most perfect and varied modulation of sweet sounds, could avoid confessing the vast power and pleasing effect of this simple harmony. Soon after they had finished, nine women exhibited themselves, and sat down fronting the hut where the chief was. A man then rose and struck the first of these women on the back with both fists joined ; he proceeded in the same manner to the second and third, but when he came to the fourth, whether from accident or design, I cannot tell, instead of the back, he struck her on the breast. Upon this a person rose instantly from the crowd, who brought him to the ground with a blow on the head, and he was carried off without the least noise or disorder. But this did not save the other five women from so odd a ceremony ; for a person succeeded him, who treated them in the same manner. Their disgrace did not end here, for when they danced, they had the mortification to find their performance twice disapproved of, and were obliged to repeat it.

Curiosity on both sides being now sufficiently gratified by the exhibition of the various entertainments I have described, I began to have time to look about me. Accordingly next day I took a walk into the island of Leefooga, of which I was desirous to obtain some knowledge. I found it to be in several respects superior to Annamooka. The plantations were numerous and more extensive. We observed large spots covered with the paper mulberry tree, and the plantations in general were well stocked with such roots and fruits as are the natural produce of the island. To these I made some additions by sowing the seeds of Indian corn, melons, pumpkins, and the like. The island is not above seven miles long, and in some places not above two or three broad. The east side of it, which is exposed to the trade-wind, has a reef running a considerable distance from it, on which the sea breaks with great violence. When I returned from my excursions into the country, I found a large sailing canoe fast to the ship's stern. In this canoe was Latooliboula,

whom I had seen at Tongataboo during my last voyage, and who was then supposed by us to be king of that island. He sat in the canoe with all the gravity by which he was so remarkably distinguished at that time, nor could I, by any entreaties, prevail upon him now to come into the ship. Many of the islanders were present, and they all called him Arekee, which signifies king. I had never heard any one of them give this title to Feenou, however extensive his authority over them, both here and at Annamooka, had appeared to be, which had all along inclined me to suspect that he was not the king, though his friend, Taipa, had taken pains to make me believe he was. Feenou was on board my ship at the same time, but neither of these great men took the least notice of each other.

On the morning of the 23rd, as we were going to unmoor, in order to leave the island, Feenou, and his prime minister, Taipa, came alongside in a sailing canoe, and informed me that they were setting out for Vavaoo, an island which they said was about two days' sail to the northward of Hapae. The object of their voyage, they would have me believe, was to get for me an additional supply of hogs, and some red-feathered caps for Omai to carry to Otaheite, where they are in high esteem. Feenou assured me that he should be back in four or five days, and desired me not to sail till his return, when he promised he would accompany me to Tongataboo. I thought this a good opportunity to acquire some knowledge of Vavaoo, and proposed to him to go thither with the ships; but he seemed not to approve of the plan, and, by way of diverting me from it, told me that there was neither harbour nor anchorage about it. I therefore consented to wait in my present station until his return, and he immediately set out.

In my walk on the 25th I happened to step into a house, where I found a woman shaving a child's head with a shark's tooth stuck into the end of a piece of stick. I observed that she first wetted the hair with a rag dipped in water, applying her instrument to that part which she had previously soaked. The operation seemed to give no pain to the child, although the hair was taken off as close as if one of our razors had

been employed. Encouraged by what I now saw, I soon after tried one of those singular instruments upon myself, and found it to be an excellent substitute. However, the men of these islands have recourse to another contrivance when they shave their beards. The operation is performed with two shells, one of which they place under a small part of the beard, and with the other, applied above, they scrape that part off. In this manner they are able to shave very close. The process is indeed rather tedious, but not painful, and there are men amongst them who seem to profess the trade. It was as common, while we were here, to see our sailors go ashore to have their beards scraped off after the fashion of Hapace, as it was to see their chiefs come on board to be shaved by our barbers. Finding that little or nothing of the produce of the island was now brought to the ships, I resolved to change our station, and in the afternoon of the 26th of May, I sailed into a bay that lies between the south end of Lefooga and the north end of Hoolaiva, and there anchored.

About noon a large sailing canoe came under our stern, in which was a person named Futtafaihe, or Poolaho, or both, who, as the natives then on board told us, was king of Tongataboo and all the neighbouring islands. It being my interest, as well as my inclination, to pay court to all the great men without making inquiry into the validity of their assumed titles, I invited Poolaho on board. He brought with him, as a present, two fat hogs, though not so fat as himself. If weight of body could give weight in rank or power, he was certainly the most eminent man in that respect we had seen. I found him to be a sedate, sensible person. He viewed the ship and the several new objects with uncommon attention, and asked many pertinent questions; one of which was, what could induce us to visit these islands? After he had satisfied his curiosity in looking at the cattle and other novelties which he met with on deck, I desired him to walk down into the cabin. To this his attendants objected, saying, that if he were to accept of the invitation, it must happen that people would walk over his head; but the chief himself, less scru-

pulous in this respect than his attendants, waived all ceremony and walked down.

Poolaho sat down with us to dinner, but he ate little and drank less. When he arose from the table he desired me to accompany him ashore. I attended him in my own boat, having first made presents to him of such articles as I observed he valued most, and were even beyond his expectation to receive. I was not disappointed in my view of thus securing his friendship, for the moment the boat reached the beach, he ordered two more hogs to be brought and delivered to my people. He was then carried out of the boat by some of his own people upon a board resembling a handbarrow, and went and seated himself in a small house near the shore, which seemed to have been erected there for his accommodation. He placed me at his side, and his attendants seated themselves in a semicircle before us outside the house. Behind the chief, or rather on one side, sat an old woman with a sort of fan in her hand, whose office it was to prevent his being pestered with the flies. I stayed till several of his attendants left him, first making him obeisance by bowing the head down to the sole of his foot, and touching or tapping the same with the upper and under side of the fingers of both hands. Others, who were not in the circle, came, as it seemed, on purpose and paid him this mark of respect, and then retired without speaking a word. I was charmed with the decorum that was observed, and had nowhere seen the like, not even among more civilised nations.

Poolaho, the king, as I shall now call him, came on board betimes next morning, and brought, as a present to me, one of their caps, or rather bonnets, composed of the tail feathers of the tropic bird, with the red feathers of the parroquets wrought upon them or jointly with them. They are made so as to tie upon the forehead, without any crown, and have the form of a semicircle, whose radius is 18 or 20 inches. At daybreak the next morning I weighed with a fine breeze, and stood to the westward with a view to return to Annamoeka. We were followed by several sailing canoes,



in one of which was the king. He quitted us in a short time, but left his brother and five of his attendants on board. We had also the company of a chief, just then arrived from Tongataboo, whose name was Tooboueitoa. The moment he arrived he sent his canoe away, and declared that he and five more who came with him would sleep on board ; so that I had now my cabin filled with visitors. They brought plenty of provisions with them, for which they always had suitable returns.

In our course the ship was very near running full upon a low sandy isle, called Pootoo. It happened very fortunately that the people had just before been ordered upon deck, to put the ship about, so that the necessary movements were executed with judgment and alertness, which thus alone saved us from destruction. The *Discovery*, being astern, was out of danger. Such hazardous situations are the unavoidable accompaniments of a voyage of discovery. This circumstance frightened our passengers so much that they expressed a strong desire to get ashore. Accordingly, as soon as daylight returned, I hoisted out a boat, and ordered the officer who commanded her, after landing them at Kootoo, to sound along the reef for anchorage. Having met with a convenient station, we lay there until the 4th, when we weighed, and stood for Annamooka, where we anchored next morning. I went on shore soon after, and found the inhabitants very busy in digging up yams to bring to market. These were now in the greatest perfection, and we procured a good quantity in exchange for pieces of iron.

About noon next day, Feenou arrived from Vavaoo. He told us that several canoes, laden with hogs and other provisions, which had sailed with him from that island, had been lost, owing to the late stormy weather, and that everybody on board perished. This melancholy tale did not seem to affect any of his countrymen that heard it ; and as to ourselves, we were by this time too well acquainted with his character to give much credit to such a story. The following morning, Poolaho and the other chiefs, who had been wind-bound with him, arrived. I happened at this time to be

ashore, in company with Feenou, who now seemed to be sensible of the impropriety of his conduct in assuming a character that did not belong to him. I left him to visit this greater man, whom I found sitting with a few people before him ; but, as every one hastened to pay court to him, the circle increased pretty fast. I had the most convincing proof of Feenou's inferiority, for he placed himself amongst the rest that sat before Poolaho, as attendant on his majesty. Both he and Poolaho went on board with me to dinner, but only the latter sat at table. Feenou, having made his obeisance in the usual way, saluting his sovereign's foot with his head and hands, retired out of the cabin. The king had before told us that this would happen, and it now appeared that Feenou could not eat or drink in his royal presence.

At eight o'clock the next morning we steered for Tongataboo, having a gentle breeze at north-east. About fourteen or fifteen sailing vessels, belonging to the natives, set out with us, but every one of them outsailed the ships considerably. In the afternoon of the next day we came to an anchor off that island, in a safe station, and soon after I landed, accompanied by Omai and some of the officers. We found the king waiting for us upon the beach. He immediately conducted us to a small neat house, situated a little within the skirts of the woods, with a fine large area before it, which he told me was at my service during our stay at this island, and a better situation we could not wish for. We had not been long in the house before a pretty large circle of the natives were assembled before us. A root of the kava plant being brought and laid down before the king, he ordered it to be split into pieces and distributed to several people of both sexes, who began the operation of chewing it, and a bowl of their favourite liquor was soon prepared. In the meantime a baked hog and two baskets of baked yams were produced, and afterwards divided into ten portions ; these portions were then given to certain people present, but how many were to share in each I could not tell. The liquor was next served out, but I observed that not a fourth part of the company had

tasted either the victuals or the drink. As I intended to make some stay at Tongataboo, we pitched a tent in the forenoon, just by the house which Poolaho had assigned for our use. The horses, cattle, and sheep were afterwards landed, and a party of marines, with their officer, stationed there as a guard. The observatory was then set up at a small distance from the other tent, and Mr. King resided on shore to attend to the observations. The gunners were ordered to conduct the traffic with the natives, who thronged from every part of the island with hogs, yams, cocoanuts, and other articles of their produce. In a short time our landing-post was like a fair, and the ships were so crowded with visitors that we had hardly room to stir upon the decks.

Feenou had taken up his residence in our neighbourhood, but he was no longer the leading man. However, we still found him to be a person of consequence, and we had daily proofs of his opulence and liberality, by the continuance of his valuable presents. We now heard that there were other great men of the island whom we had not yet seen ; in particular they mentioned a person, considerably over sixty, named Mareewagee, and another called Toobou, who, they said, were of the first consequence. And so I found them to be when I paid them a visit on shore, which they returned—coming off to the ship accompanied by three or four inferior chiefs. When dinner was laid upon the table, not one of them would sit down or eat anything that was served up ; on expressing my surprise at this, they were all taboo, as they said, which signifies that a thing is forbidden. Dinner being over, and having gratified their curiosity by showing to them every part of the ship, I then conducted them ashore. As soon as the boat reached the beach, Feenou and some others stepped out. Young Fattafaihe following them, was called back by Mareewagee, who now paid the heir-apparent the same obeisance, and in the same manner that I had seen it paid to the king. By this time I had acquired some certain information about the relative situations of the several great men, whose names have

been so often mentioned. I now knew that Mareewagee and Toubou were brothers. Feenou was one of Mareewagee's sons, and Tooboueitoa was another.

Next day was fixed upon by Mareewagee for giving a grand haiva, or entertainment, to which we were all invited. For this purpose a large space had been cleared before the temporary hut of the chief, near our post, as an area where the performances were to be exhibited. In the morning great multitudes of the natives came in from the country, every one carrying upon his shoulders a pole, about six feet long, with a yam suspended at each end. These yams and poles were deposited on each side of the area, so as to form two large heaps, decorated with different sorts of small fish, and piled up to the greatest advantage: they were Mareewagee's present to Captain Clerke and me. Everything being thus prepared, about eleven o'clock they began to exhibit various dances, which they called "mai." The music consisted, at first, of seventy men as a chorus, who sat down; and amidst them were placed three instruments, which we called drums from their effect, and the natives "naffa;" these instruments produce a rude though loud and powerful sound. The first dance consisted of four ranks of twenty-four men each, holding in their hands a little thin light wooden instrument, about two feet long, and in shape not unlike a small oblong paddle. With these, which are called "pagge," they made a great many different motions, all which were accompanied by corresponding attitudes of the body. Their motions were at first slow, but quickened as the drums beat faster, and the whole time they recited sentences in a musical tone, which were answered by the chorus; at the end of a short space they all joined, and finished with a shout; then the rear rank, dividing, shifted themselves very slowly round each end, and meeting in the front, formed the first rank, the whole number continuing to recite the sentences as before. The other ranks did the same successively, till that which at first was the front, became the rear; and their evolutions continued in the same manner, till the last rank regained its first situation. They then began a much

quicker dance, though slow at first, and sung about ten minutes, when the whole body divided into two parts, retreated a little, and then approached, forming a sort of circular figure, which finished the dance.

In a short time, seventy men sat down as a chorus to another dance. This consisted of two ranks, of sixteen persons each, with young Toobou at their head. These danced, sung, and twirled the "pagge" as before, but in general much quicker. A motion that met with particular approbation, was one in which they held the face aside, as if ashamed; the back rank closed before the front one, and that again resumed its place, as in the two former dances. At that instant two men entered very hastily, and exercised the clubs which they use in battle; they did this by first twirling them in their hands, and making circular strokes before them with great force and quickness, but so skilfully managed that, though standing quite close, they never interfered. To them succeeded a person with a spear, in the same hasty manner, looking about eagerly, as if in search of somebody to throw it at. He then ran hastily to one side of the crowd in the front, and put himself in a threatening attitude, as if he meant to strike with his spear at one of them, bending the knee a little, and trembling, as it were, with rage. He continued in this manner only a few seconds, when he moved to the other side, and having stood in the same posture there, for the same short time, retreated from the ground as fast as when he made his appearance; and various other evolutions were performed with much adroitness.

These dances lasted from eleven till nearly three o'clock, and though they were doubtless intended to show us a specimen of their dexterity, vast numbers of their own people attended as spectators. Some computed that there were not less than 10,000 or 12,000 people within the compass of a quarter of a mile, drawn together for the most part by mere curiosity. No pen can describe the numerous actions and motions, the regularity with which they were performed; and the whole was conducted with more order than could have been expected in so large an assembly.

Early in the morning of the 18th an incident happened that strongly marked one of their customs. A man got out of a canoe into the quarter gallery of the *Resolution*, and stole from thence a pewter basin. He was discovered, pursued, and brought alongside the ship. On this occasion, three old women, who were in the canoe, made loud lamentations over the prisoner, beating their breasts and faces in a most violent manner, and all this was done without shedding a tear.

This day I bestowed on Mareewagee some presents in return for those we had received from him the day before ; and as the entertainments which he had then exhibited for our amusement called upon us to make some exhibition in our way, I ordered a party of marines to go through their exercise on the spot where the dances had been performed, and in the evening played off some fireworks. Poolaho, all the principal chiefs, and a great number of people of all denominations, were present. The platoon firing, which was executed tolerably well, seemed to give them pleasure, but they were lost in astonishment when they beheld our water rockets. In expectation of this evening show, the circles of natives about our tent being pretty large, they engaged in boxing and wrestling the greater part of the afternoon. When one of them chooses to wrestle, he gets up from one side of the ring and crosses the ground in a sort of measured pace, clapping smartly on the elbow-joint of one arm, which is bent, and produces a hollow sound. That is reckoned the challenge. If no person comes out from the opposite side to engage him, he returns in the same manner and sits down, but sometimes stands clapping in the midst of the ground, to provoke some one to come out. If an opponent appears, they come together with marks of the greatest good-nature, generally smiling, and taking time to adjust the piece of cloth which is fastened round the waist. These combats seldom last long before one gives in. Some of our people ventured to contend with the natives in both these exercises, but were always worsted.

The animals we had brought were all on shore. Knowing

their thievish disposition, I thought it prudent to declare my intention of leaving some of them behind, and even to make a distribution of them previous to my departure. With this view, on the evening of the 19th, I assembled all the chiefs before our house, and my intended presents to them were marked out. To Poolaho, the king, I gave a young English bull and cow; to Marcewagee, a Cape ram and two ewes; and to Feenou, a horse and mare. As my design to make such a distribution had been made known the day before, most of the people in the neighbourhood were present. I entrusted Omai to tell them that there were no such animals within many months' sail of their island, and that we had brought them at a vast expense; that therefore they must be careful not to kill any of them till they had multiplied to a numerous race; and that they and their children ought to remember that they had received them from the men of Britain. He also explained to them their several uses, and what else was necessary for them to know, or rather as far as he knew, for Omai was not well versed in such things himself.

Next day I dined ashore. The king sat down with us, but he neither ate nor drank. I found that this was owing to the presence of a female, who, as we afterwards understood, had superior rank to himself. As soon as this great personage had dined, she stepped up to the king, who put his hands to her feet, and then she retired. He immediately dipped his fingers into a glass of wine, and then received the obeisance of all her followers. This was the single instance we ever observed of his paying this mark of reverence to any person. At the king's desire I ordered some fireworks to be played off in the evening; but unfortunately, being damaged, this exhibition did not answer expectation. As no more entertainments were to be expected on either side, and the curiosity of the populace was by this time pretty well satisfied, most of them left us. We still, however, had thieves about us, and, encouraged by the negligence of our people, we had continual instances of their depredations. Some of the officers, belonging to both ships, who had made an excursion into the interior of the island without my leave

or knowledge, returned this evening, after an absence of two days. They had taken with them their muskets, with the necessary ammunition, and several small articles of the favourite commodities, all of which the natives had the dexterity to steal from them in the course of their expedition. Feenou and Poolaho upon this occasion very justly observed, that if any of my people at any time wanted to go into the country, they ought to be acquainted with it, in which case they would send proper persons along with them, and then they would be answerable for their safety. Though I gave myself no trouble about the recovery of the things stolen upon this occasion, most of them, through Feenou's interposition, were recovered, except one musket and a few other articles of inferior value.

We had now recruited the ships with wood and water, and had finished the repairs of the sails. However, as an eclipse of the sun was to happen on the 5th of July, and it was now the 25th of June, I resolved to defer sailing till that time had elapsed, in order to have a chance of observing it. Having therefore some days of leisure before me, a party of us, accompanied by Poolaho, set out early next morning in a boat for Mooa, the village where he and the other great men usually reside. As we rowed up the inlet, we met fourteen canoes fishing in company, in one of which was Poolaho's sons. In each canoe was a triangular net, extended between two poles, at the lower end of which was a cod to receive and secure the fish. They had already caught some fine mullet, and they put about a dozen into our boat. I desired to see their method of fishing, which they readily complied with. A shoal of fish was supposed to be in one of the banks, which they instantly enclosed in a large net like a sieve, or set-net. This the fishers, one getting into the water out of each boat, surrounded with the triangular nets in their hands, with which they scooped the fish out of the seine, or caught them as they attempted to leap over it.

Leaving the prince and fishing party, we proceeded to the bottom of the bay. Here we observed a *fiataoka*, or burying-place, which was much more extensive, and seemingly of



more consequence, than any we had seen at the other islands. We were told that it belonged to the king. It consisted of three pretty large houses, situated upon a rising ground, with a small one at a distance, all ranged longitudinally. They were covered and paved with fine pebbles, and the whole was enclosed by large flat stones of hard coral rock, properly hewn, placed on their edges; one of the stones measured twelve feet in length, two in breadth, and above one in thickness. Within one of these houses were two rude wooden busts of men. On inquiring what these images were intended for, we were told they were merely memorials of some chiefs who had been buried there, and not the representations of any deity. In one of them was a carved head of an Otaheitean canoe, which had been driven ashore on their coast, and deposited here.

After we had refreshed ourselves we made an excursion into the country, attended by one of the king's ministers. Our train was not great, as he would not suffer the rabble to follow us. He also obliged all those whom we met upon our progress to sit down till we had passed, which is a mark of respect due only to their sovereigns.

By far the greater part of the country was cultivated, and planted with various sorts of productions. There were many public and well-beaten roads, and abundance of footpaths leading to every part of the island. It is remarkable that when we were on the most elevated parts, at least a hundred feet above the level of the sea, we often met with the same coral rock which is found on the shore, and yet these very spots, with hardly any soil upon them, were covered with luxuriant vegetation. We saw some springs, but the water was either stinking or brackish. When we returned from our walk, which was not till the dusk of the evening, our supper was ready, and consisted of a baked hog, some fish, and yams, all excellently well cooked after the method of these islands. As there was nothing to amuse us after supper, we followed the custom of the country, and lay down to sleep, our beds being mats spread upon the floor, and cloth to cover us. The king, who had made himself very happy with some

wine and brandy which we had brought, slept in the same house, as well as several others of the natives.

Early next morning they began to prepare a bowl of kava. We had seen the drinking of this liquor sometimes at the other islands, but by no means so frequently as here, where it seems to be the only forenoon employment of the principal people. The kava is a species of pepper which they cultivate for this purpose, and esteem a valuable article. It seldom grows to more than a man's height, and branches considerably, with heart-shaped leaves and pointed stalks. The root is the only part that is used. They break it in pieces, scrape the dirt off with a shell, and then each chews his portion, which he spits into a plantain leaf. The person who is to prepare the liquor collects all these mouthfuls and puts them into a large wooden dish or bowl, adding as much water as will make it of proper strength. It is then well mixed up with the hands, and some loose stuff, of which mats are made, is thrown upon the surface. The immediate effect of this beverage is not perceptible on those people who use it so frequently, but on some of ours who ventured to try it, though so nastily prepared, it had the same intoxicating power as spirits, or rather, it produced that kind of stupefaction which is the consequence of using opium, or other substances of that kind. I have seen them drink it seven times before noon, yet it is so disagreeable, or at least seems so, that the greater part of them cannot swallow it without making wry faces and shuddering afterwards. When we got on board the ship I found that everything had been quiet during my absence, not a theft having been committed, of which Feenou and Futtafaihe, the king's brother, who had undertaken the arrangements of his countrymen, boasted not a little. This shows what power the chiefs possess when they have the will to execute it, which we could scarcely expect, since whatever was stolen from us generally, if not always, was conveyed to them. But the good conduct of the natives was of short duration, for the next day six or eight of them assaulted some of our people who were sawing planks. They were fired upon by the sentry, and one was supposed to be wounded

and three others taken. These I kept confined all night, and did not dismiss without punishment. After this they behaved with a little more circumspection, and gave us much less trouble. This change of behaviour was certainly occasioned by the man being wounded ; for before they had only been told the effect of firearms—but now they had felt it.

On the 30th I visited Futtafaihe, and we spent the night ashore ; but we were a good deal disturbed by a singular instance of luxury in which their principal men indulge themselves—that of being beaten while they are asleep. Two women sat by Futtafaihe and performed this operation, that was called “tooge-tooge,” by beating briskly on his body and legs with both fists, as on a drum, till he fell asleep, and continuing it the whole night, with some short intervals. When once the person is asleep, they abate a little in the strength and quickness of beating, but resume it if they observe any appearance of his waking. In the morning we found that Futtafaihe's women relieved each other, and went to sleep by turns. In any other country it would be supposed that such a practice would put an end to all rest ; but here it certainly acts as an opiate, and is a strong proof of what habit may effect. The noise of this, however, was not the only thing that kept us awake, for the people who passed the night in the house not only conversed among each other frequently, as in the day, but all got up before it was light, and made a hearty meal of fish and yams, which were brought to them by a person who seemed to know very well the appointed time for this nocturnal refreshment.

I had prolonged my stay at this island on account of the approaching eclipse ; but on the 2nd of July, on looking at the micrometer belonging to the Board of Longitude, I found some of the rack-work broken, and the instrument useless till repaired, which there was not time to do before it was intended to be used. Preparing now for our departure, I got on board all the cattle, poultry, and other animals, except such as were destined to remain, and on the following day we unmoored, that we might be ready to take advantage of the first favourable wind. The king, who was one of our

company this day at dinner, took particular notice of the plates, which induced me to make him an offer of one, either of pewter or of earthenware. He chose the first, and then began to tell us the several uses to which he intended to apply it, two being of so extraordinary a nature that I cannot omit mentioning them. He said that whenever he should have occasion to visit any of the other islands, he would leave this plate behind him at Tongataboo as a sort of representative in his absence, that the people might pay it the same obeisance as they did to himself in person. He was asked what had been usually employed for that purpose before he got this plate, and we had the satisfaction of learning from him that this singular honour had been hitherto conferred on a wooden bowl in which he washed his hands. The other extraordinary use to which he meant to apply this plate, in the place of the wooden bowl, was to discover a thief. He said that when anything was stolen, and the thief could not be found out, the people were all assembled together before him, when he washed his hands in water in this vessel, after which it was cleaned, and then the whole multitude advanced one after another and touched it in the same manner that they touch his foot when they pay him obeisance; if the guilty person touched it he died immediately upon the spot, not by violence, but by the hand of Providence, and if any one refused to touch it, his refusal was a clear proof that he was the man.

On the morning of the 5th, the day of the eclipse, the weather was dark and cloudy, with showers of rain, so that we had little hopes of an observation. About nine o'clock the sun broke out at intervals for about half an hour, after which it was totally obscured till within a minute or two of the beginning of the eclipse. We were all at our telescopes, viz : Mr. Bayley, Mr. King, Captain Clerke, Mr. Bligh, and myself. I lost the observation by not having a dark glass at hand, suitable to the clouds that were continually passing over the sun, and Mr. Bligh had not got the sun into the field of his telescope; so that the commencement of the eclipse was only observed by the other three gentlemen.

The general appearance of the country conveys to the spectator an idea of the most exuberant fertility, and at a distance the surface seems entirely clothed with trees of various sizes. Of cultivated fruits the principal are the plantain and bread-fruit, and there is plenty of excellent sugar-cane. The only quadrupeds besides hogs are a few rats and some dogs. Fowls, which are of a large breed, are domesticated here.

On the 6th of July we were ready to sail, but the wind being unfavourable, were under the necessity of waiting two or three days. We took our final leave of Tongataboo on the 10th, and early in the morning of the second day reached Middleburgh, or Eooa. We had no sooner anchored than Taoofa, the chief, and several other natives, visited us on board, and seemed to rejoice much at our arrival. This Taoofa knew me when I was here during my last voyage, and I now went ashore with him in search of fresh water, which was the chief object that brought me to Eooa. I was first conducted to a brackish spring, between low and high water mark, in the cove where we landed. Finding that we did not like this, our friends took us a little inland, where, in a deep chasm, we found very good water; but rather than undertake the tedious task of bringing it down to the shore, I resolved to rest content with the supply that the ships had got at Tongataboo. I put ashore the ram and the two ewes of the Cape of Good Hope breed, entrusting them to the care of Taoofa, who seemed proud of his charge. As we lay at anchor this island bore a very different aspect from any we had lately seen, and formed a most beautiful landscape.

In the afternoon of the 13th a party of us made an excursion to the highest part of the island; and as the plains and meadows are adorned with tufts of trees, intermixed with plantations, they form a very beautiful landscape in every point of view. While I was surveying this delightful prospect, I could not help flattering myself with the pleasing idea, that some future navigators may, from the same station, behold these meadows stocked with cattle, brought to these islands by the ships of England; and that the completion of

this single benevolent purpose, independently of all other considerations, would sufficiently mark to posterity that our voyages had not been useless to the general interests of humanity. The next morning I planted a pine apple, and sowed the seeds of melons and other vegetables in the chief's plantation. I had some encouragement, indeed, to flatter myself that my endeavours of this kind would not be fruitless. On this day there was served up at my dinner a dish of turnips, being the produce of the seeds I had left during my last voyage. I had fixed on the 15th for sailing, till Taoofo pressed me to stay a day or two longer, to receive a present he had prepared for me, consisting of two small heaps of yams and some fruit, which seemed to be collected by a kind of contribution, as at the other isles. For this liberality I made an adequate return, and soon weighed.

We now took leave of the Friendly Islands, after a stay of nearly three months, during which time we lived with the natives in the most cordial friendship. Some accidental differences, it is true, now and then happened, owing to their great propensity to thieving, which was too often encouraged by the negligence of our own people. The time employed amongst them was not thrown away ; and we expended very little of our sea provisions, subsisting, in general, upon the produce of the islands while we stayed, and carrying away with us a quantity of refreshments, sufficient to last till we arrived at another station, where we could depend upon a fresh supply. I was not sorry, besides, to have had an opportunity of bettering the condition of these good people, by leaving the useful animals before-mentioned among them ; and at the same time, those designed for Otaheite received fresh strength in the pastures of Tongataboo. But besides the immediate advantages which both the natives of the Friendly Islands and ourselves received by this visit, future navigators from Europe, if any such ever tread in our steps, will profit by the knowledge acquired of the geography of this part of the Pacific Ocean ; and the more philosophical reader, who loves to view human nature in new situations, will, perhaps, find matter of amusement, if not of instruction,

In the information which I have been enabled to convey to him concerning the inhabitants of this Archipelago. According to the information that we received then, this Archipelago is very extensive. Above 150 islands were reckoned up to us by the natives, who made use of bits of leaves to denote their number.

Nothing material occurred for some time after we left the Friendly Islands. On the morning of the 8th of August land was seen nine or ten leagues distant. As we approached, we saw it everywhere guarded by a reef of coral rock, extending in some places a full mile from the land, and a high surf breaking upon it ; we also observed people on several parts of the coast, and in a little time after we had reached the lee-side of the island, we saw them launch two canoes, into which a dozen men got, and paddled towards us. I now shortened sail, as well to give these canoes time to come up to us, as to sound for anchorage. The canoes stopped when they had advanced within pistol-shot. Omai was employed, as he usually had been on such occasions, to use all his eloquence to prevail on the men in them to come nearer, but no entreaties could induce them to trust themselves within our reach. They kept eagerly pointing to the shore with their paddles, and calling to us to go thither ; and several of their countrymen, who stood upon the beach, held up something white, which we considered also as an invitation to land. But as I did not think proper to risk losing the advantage of a fair wind for the sake of examining an island which appeared to be of little consequence, I made sail to the north, but not without learning from them the name of their island, which they called Toobouai.

At daybreak on the morning of the 12th we saw the island of Maitea, and soon after Otaheite. When we first drew near the island, several canoes came off to the ship, each conducted by two or three men. But, as they were common fellows, Omai took no particular notice of them, nor they of him. At length a chief, whom I had known before, named Ootee, and Omai's brother-in-law, and three or four more persons, all so whom knew Omai, came on board. There

was nothing either tender or striking in their meeting, but, on the contrary, there seemed to be a perfect indifference on both sides, till Omai, having taken his brother-in-law down into the cabin, opened the drawer where he kept his red feathers, and gave him a few. This being presently known among the rest of the natives upon deck, the face of affairs was entirely changed, and Ootee, who would hardly speak to Omai before, now begged that they might be friends, and exchanged names. Omai accepted the honour, and confirmed it with a present of red feathers; and Ootee, by way of return, sent ashore for a hog. It was evident to every one of us, that it was not the man, but his property, they were in love with: such was Omai's first reception among his countrymen. The important news of red feathers being on board our ships having been conveyed on shore by Omai's friends, day had no sooner began to break next morning, than we were surrounded by a multitude of canoes, crowded with people bringing hogs and fruit to market. At first, a quantity of feathers not greater than what might be got from a tom-tit would purchase a hog of forty or fifty pounds weight, but as almost everybody in the ships was possessed of some of this precious article of trade, it fell in its value above 500 per cent. before night.

Soon after we had anchored, Omai's sister came on board to see him. I was happy to observe that, much to the honour of them both, their meeting was marked with expressions of the tenderest affection, easier to be conceived than described. This moving scene having closed, and the ship being properly moored, Omai and I went on shore. My first object was to pay a visit to a man whom my friend represented as a very extraordinary personage indeed, for he said that he was the god of Bolabola. We found him seated under one of those small awnings which they usually carry in their larger canoes. He was an elderly man, and had lost the use of his limbs, so that he was carried from place to place upon a hand-barrow. From Omai's account of this person I expected to have seen some religious adoration paid to him, but, excepting some young plantain trees that lay be-



fore him, and upon the awning under which he sat, I could observe nothing by which he might be distinguished from their other chiefs. Omai presented to him a tuft of red feathers, tied to the end of a small stick ; but after a little conversation on indifferent matters with this Bolabola man, his attention was drawn to an old woman, the sister of his mother. She was already at his feet, and had bedewed them plentifully with tears of joy. I left him with the old lady in the midst of a number of people, who had gathered round him, and went to view a house said to be built by strangers since I was here before. By an inspection I found it was erected by some Spaniards, who had been here lately in two ships from Lima. When I returned, I found Omai holding forth to a large company ; and it was with some difficulty that he could be got away to accompany me on board, where I had an important affair to settle. This was in regard to the stated allowance of spirituous liquors ; and I had the satisfaction to find that the crews of both ships unanimously consented to an abridgment in the usual quantity while at this place, that they might not be under the necessity of being put to short allowance in a cold climate.

The next day we began some necessary operations ; I also put on shore the bull, cows, horses, and sheep, and appointed two men to look after them while grazing, as I did not intend to leave any of them at this part of the island. During the two following days it hardly ceased raining, but the natives, nevertheless, came to us from every quarter, the news of our arrival having rapidly spread. On the 17th Omai and I went on shore, to pay a formal visit to a young chief named Waheiadooa, who had come down to the beach. On this occasion Omai, assisted by some of his friends, dressed himself, not after the English fashion, nor that of Otaheite, nor that of Tongataboo, nor in the dress of any country upon earth, but in a strange medley of all that he was possessed of.

On our landing, Etary, or the god of Bolabola, carried on a hand-barrow, attended us to a large house, where he was set down, and we seated ourselves on each side of him.

I caused a piece of Tongataboo cloth to be spread out before us, on which I laid the presents I intended to make. Presently the young chief came, attended by his mother and several principal men, who all seated themselves at the other end of the cloth, facing us. Then a man, who sat by me, made a speech, consisting of short and separate sentences, part of which was dictated by those about him. He was answered by one from the opposite side, near the chief; Eтары spoke next, and then Omai, both of them being answered from the same quarter. These orations were entirely about my arrival and connections with them. The person who spoke last told me, among other things, that he was authorised to make a formal surrender of the province of Tiaraboo to me, and of everything in it, which marks very plainly that these people are no strangers to the policy of accommodating themselves to present circumstances. At length the young chief was directed by his attendants to come and embrace me; and, by way of confirming this treaty of friendship, we exchanged names. The ceremony being closed, he and his friends accompanied me on board to dinner. Having taken in a fresh supply of water, and finished all other necessary operations, on the 22nd I brought off the cattle and sheep, and made ready for sea. On the 23rd we got under sail, and steered for Matavia Bay, where the *Resolution* anchored the same evening, the *Discovery* not arriving till the next day.

About nine o'clock in the morning, Otoo, the king of the whole island, attended by a great number of canoes full of people, came from Oparre, his place of residence, and sent a messenger on board, accompanied by Omai and some of the officers. We found a prodigious number of people assembled on this occasion, and in the midst of them was the king, attended by his father, his two brothers, and three sisters. I went up first and saluted them, followed by Omai, who kneeled and embraced his legs. Omai had prepared himself for this ceremony by dressing in his very best suit of clothes, and behaved with a great deal of respect and modesty; nevertheless, very little notice was taken of him. Perhaps envy had some share in producing this cold reception. He

made the chief a present of a large bunch of red feathers and about two or three yards of gold cloth, and I gave him a suit of fine linen, a gold-laced hat, some tools, and, what was of more value than all the other articles, a quantity of red feathers, and one of the bonnets in use at the Friendly Islands. After the hurry of this visit was over, the king and the whole royal family accompanied me on board, followed by several canoes, laden with all kinds of provisions, in quantity sufficient to have served the companies of both ships for a week. Soon after, the king's mother, who had not been present at the first interview, came on board, bringing with her a quantity of provisions and cloth, which she divided between me and Omai, for although he was but little noticed at first by his countrymen, they no sooner gained a knowledge of his riches than they began to court his friendship. I encouraged this as much as I could, for it was my wish to leave him with Otoo; as I intended to land all my European animals at this island. I thought he would be able to give some instructions about, the management of them and their use. Besides, I knew and saw that the further he was from his native island the more he would be respected; unfortunately, however, poor Omai rejected my advice, and conducted himself in so imprudent a manner that he soon lost the friendship of Otoo, and of every other person of note in Otaheite. As soon as we had dined, a party of us accompanied Otoo to Oparre, taking with us the poultry with which we were to stock the island. These I left at Oparre, in the possession of Otoo, and the geese and ducks began to breed before we sailed. We found there a gander, which the natives told us was the same that Captain Wallis had given to Oberea ten years before, several goats, and a Spanish bull, which they kept tied to a tree near Otoo's house. I never saw a finer animal of this kind. He was now the property of Etary, and had been brought from Oheitepeha to this place in order to be shipped for Bolabola. Next day I put ashore three cows, a horse, a mare, and a sheep.

Having thus disposed of these passengers, I found myself lightened of a very heavy burthen. The trouble and vexation

that attended the bringing this living cargo thus far is hardly to be conceived ; but the satisfaction I felt in having been so fortunate as to fulfil his majesty's humane design, in sending such valuable animals to supply the wants of two worthy nations, sufficiently recompensed me for the many anxious hours I had passed, before this subordinate object of my voyage could be carried into execution. As I intended to make some stay here, we set up the two observatories on Matavia Point. Adjoining to them two tents were pitched, for the reception of a guard, and of such people as it might be necessary to leave on shore in different departments. I entrusted the command to Mr. King, who, at the same time, attended the observations for ascertaining the correctness of the timekeeper, and other purposes.

On the 26th I had a piece of ground cleared for a garden, and planted in it several articles. Some melons, potatoes, and two pine-apple plants were in a fair way of succeeding before we left the place. I had brought from the Friendly Islands several shaddock trees, which I also planted here ; and they can hardly fail of success, unless their growth should be checked by the same premature curiosity which destroyed a vine planted by the Spaniards at Oheitepeha. A number of the natives got together to taste the first fruit it bore, but as the grapes were still sour, they considered it as little better than poison, and it was unanimously determined to tread it under foot. In that state Omai found it by chance, and was overjoyed at the discovery, for he had full confidence that, if he had but grapes, he could make wine. Accordingly he had several slips cut off from the tree to carry with him, and we pruned and put in order the remains of it.

We found there the young man whom we called Oedidee, but whose real name is Heete-heete. I had carried him from Ulitea in 1773, and brought him back in 1774, after he had visited the Friendly Islands, New Zealand, Easter Island, and the Marquesas, and been on board my ship about seven months. He was tenacious of his good breeding, and "Yes, sir," or "If you please, sir," were frequently repeated by him. Heete-heete, who is a native of Bolabola, had arrived in

Otaheite three months before, with no other intention, as we could learn, than to gratify his curiosity, or perhaps some other favourite passion. It was evident, however, that he preferred the modes and even the garb of his own countrymen to ours, for though I gave him some clothes, which our Admiralty Board had been pleased to send for his use, to which I added a chest of tools and a few other articles as a present from myself, he declined wearing them after a few days. This instance may be urged as a proof of the strong propensity natural to man, of returning to habits acquired at an early age, and only interrupted by accident.

On the morning of the 27th a man came from Oheitepeha and told us that the Spanish ships had anchored in that bay the night before, and, in confirmation of this intelligence, he produced a piece of coarse blue cloth, which he said he got out of one of the ships. He added that Mateema was in one of our ships, and that they were to come down to Matavia in a day or two. Some other circumstances which he mentioned gave the story so much an air of truth, that I despatched Lieut. Williamson in a boat to look into Oheitepeha Bay; in the meantime I put the ships into a proper state of defence, for though England and Spain were in peace when I left Europe, for aught I knew hostilities might have broken out. However, on further inquiry, the fellow imposed upon us, and this was confirmed by Williamson's report, as soon as he returned.

Hitherto the attention of Otoo and his people was confined to us; but next morning, messengers arrived from Eimeo, with intelligence that the people in the island were in arms, and that Otoo's partisans there had been worsted, and obliged to retreat to the mountains. The quarrel between the two islands, which commenced in 1774, had, it seems, partly subsisted ever since. The formidable armament which I saw at that time had sailed soon after I left Otaheite, but the malcontents of Eimeo had made so stout a resistance, that the fleet had returned without effecting much; and now another expedition was necessary. On the arrival of the messengers, all the chiefs who happened to be at Matavia,

assembled at Otoo's house, where I actually was at the time, and had the honour to be admitted into their council. One of the messengers opened the business in a speech of considerable length, in order to excite the assembled chiefs of Otaheite to arm on this occasion. This opinion was combated by others who were against commencing hostilities, but at length the party for war prevailed; Otoo, during the whole debate, remained silent. Those of the council who were for prosecuting the war, applied to me for assistance, and all of them wanted to know what part I would take. Omai was sent to be my interpreter, but as he could not be found, I was obliged to speak for myself, and told them, as well as I could, that as the people of Eimeo had never offended me, I could not think myself at liberty to engage in hostilities against them. With this declaration they seemed satisfied.

Whenever anyone of the great chiefs thinks a sacrifice necessary, on any particular emergency, he pitches upon the victim; some of his trusty servants are then sent, who fall upon him suddenly, and put him to death with a club, or by stoning him. The king is next acquainted with it, and his presence at the solemn rites that follow is, as I was told, absolutely necessary. Though, probably, not more than one person is sacrificed on any single occasion at Otaheite, yet I counted no less than forty-nine skulls of former victims lying before a morai; and as none of those skulls had, as yet, suffered any considerable change from the weather, it may hence be inferred that no great length of time had elapsed since at least this considerable number of unhappy wretches had been offered upon this altar of blood.

Human sacrifices, however, are not the only barbarous customs we find to be still prevailing amongst this unenlightened people. For, besides cutting out the jawbones of their enemies slain in battle, which they carry about as trophies, they in some measure offer their bodies as a sacrifice to the Eatooa. Soon after a battle in which they have been victors, they collect all the dead that have fallen into their hands, and bring them to the morai, where, with a

great deal of ceremony, they dig a hole and bury them all in it, as so many offerings to the gods ; but their skulls are never after taken up. We made no scruple in freely expressing our sentiments about their horrid ceremonies to Otoo, and those who attended him, and I could not conceal my detestation of them in a subsequent conversation with Towha. Omai was made use of as our interpreter ; and he entered into our arguments with so much spirit that the chief seemed to be in great wrath, especially when he was told, that if he had put a man to death in England, as he did here, his rank would not protect him from being hanged for it. Upon this he exclaimed, "Maeno ! maeno !" ("Vile ! vile !") and would not hear another word.

On the 4th of September a party of us dined ashore with Omai, who gave excellent fare, consisting of fish, fowls, pork, and puddings. After dinner I attended Otoo, who had been one of the party, back to his house, where I found all his servants very busy getting a quantity of provisions ready for me. Amongst other articles there was a large hog, which they killed in my presence. There was also a large pudding, composed of bread-fruit, ripe plantains, taroo, and palm or pandanus nuts, each rasped, scraped, or beat up fine, and baked by itself. A quantity of juice, pressed from cocoa-nut kernels, was put into a large tray or wooden vessel. The other articles, hot from the oven, were deposited in this vessel, and a few hot stones were also put in to make the contents simmer. Three or four men made use of sticks to stir the several ingredients till they were incorporated one with another, and the juice of the cocoa-nut was turned to oil, so that the whole mass at last became of the consistency of a hasty pudding. Some of these puddings are excellent, and few that we make in England equal them. Otoo's hog being baked, and the pudding which I have described being made, they, together with two living hogs and a quantity of bread-fruit and cocoa-nuts, were put into a canoe and sent on board my ship, followed by myself and all the royal family.

In the evening of the 7th we played off some fireworks before a great concourse of people. Some were highly enter-

tained with the exhibition, but by far the greater number of the spectators were terribly frightened, insomuch that it was with difficulty we could prevail upon them to keep together to see the end of the show. A table-rocket was the last. It flew off the table, and dispersed the whole crowd in a moment ; even the most resolute among them fled with precipitation.

Otoo was not more attentive to supply our wants by a succession of presents than he was to contribute to our amusement by a succession of diversions. A party of us having gone down to Oparre on the 10th, he treated us with what may be called a play. His three sisters were the actresses, and the dresses they appeared in were new and elegant—that is, more so than we had usually met with at any of these islands. In the evening we returned from Oparre, where we left Otoo and all the royal family, and I saw none of them till the 12th, when all but the chief himself paid me a visit ; he, as they told me, was gone to Attahooroo, to assist this day at another human sacrifice, which the chief of Tiaraboo had sent thither to be offered up at the morai.

The following evening Otoo returned from exercising this most disagreeable of all his duties as sovereign ; and the next day, being now honoured with his company, Captain Clerke and I, mounted on horseback, took a ride round the plain of Matavia, to the very great surprise of a great train of people, who attended on the occasion, gazing upon us with as much astonishment as if we had been centaurs : Omai, indeed, had once or twice before this attempted to get on horseback, but he had been as often thrown off before he could contrive to seat himself, so that this was the first time they had seen anybody ride a horse. Though this performance was repeated every day while we stayed, by one or another of our people, the curiosity of the natives continued still unabated. They were exceedingly delighted with these animals, after they had seen the use that was made of them ; and, as far as I could judge, they conveyed to them a better idea of the greatness of other nations than all other European novelties put together.



On the morning of the 18th, Mr. Anderson, myself, and Omai went again, with Otoo, to Oparre, and took with us the sheep which I intended to leave upon the island, consisting of an English ram and ewe and three Cape ewes, all of which I gave to Otoo. After dining with Otoo we returned to Matavia, leaving him at Oparre. This day, and also the 19th, we were very sparingly supplied with fruit. Otoo hearing of this, he and his brother, who had attached himself to Captain Clerke, came from Oparre, between nine and ten o'clock in the evening, with a large supply for both ships. The next day all the royal family came with presents, so that our wants were not only relieved, but we had more provisions than we could consume.

Having got all our water on board, the ships being caulked, the rigging overhauled, and everything put in order, I began to think of leaving the island, that I might have sufficient time for visiting the others in this neighbourhood. With this view we removed from the shore our observatories and instruments, and bent our sails. Early in the morning of the 22nd, Otoo and his father came on board to know when I proposed sailing; for, having been informed that there was a good harbour at Eimeo, I told them that I should visit that island on my way to Huaheine, and they were desirous of taking a passage with me, and of their fleet sailing at the same time to reinforce Towha. As I was ready to take my departure, I left it to them to name the day; and the Wednesday following was fixed upon, when I was to take on board Otoo, his father, mother, and, in short, the whole family. These points being settled, I proposed setting out immediately for Oparre, where all the fleet fitted out for the expedition was to assemble that day, and to be reviewed. I had just time to get into my boat when news was brought that Towha had concluded a treaty with Maheine, and had returned with his fleet to Attahooroo. This unexpected event made all further proceedings in a military way quite unnecessary; and the war-canoes, instead of rendervousing at Oparre, were ordered home to their respective districts. I now returned on board my ship, attended by Otoo's mother,

his three sisters, and eight more women. At first I thought this numerous train of females came into my boat with no other intention than to get a passage to Matavia ; but when we arrived at the ship they told me that they intended to pass the night on board for the express purpose of undertaking the cure of a disorder I had complained of, which was a pain of the rheumatic kind. I accepted the friendly offer, had a bed spread for them on the cabin floor, and submitted myself to their directions. They began to squeeze me with both hands from head to foot, but particularly on the parts where the pain was lodged, till they made my bones crack, and my flesh became a perfect mummy. In short, after undergoing this discipline for about a quarter of an hour, I was glad to get away from them. However, the operation gave me immediate relief, which encouraged me to submit to another rubbing down before I went to bed ; and it was so effectual that I found myself pretty easy all the night after. My female physicians repeated their prescription the next morning before they went ashore, and again in the evening, when they returned on board, after which I found the pains entirely removed, and the cure being perfected, they took their leave of me the following morning. This operation is universally practised amongst these islanders ; being sometimes performed by the men, but more generally by the women.

The war with Eimeo being finally closed, all our friends paid us a visit on the 26th ; and as they knew that we were on the point of sailing, brought with them more hogs than we could take off their hands, for, having no salt left to preserve any, we wanted no more than for present use.

On the 28th, Otoo came on board and informed me that he had got a canoe, which he desired I would take with me, and carry home as a present from him to his Majesty the King of Great Britain ; it being the only thing, he said, that he could send worth his acceptance. I was not a little pleased with Otoo for this mark of his gratitude. It was a thought entirely his own, not one of us having given him the least hint about it, and it showed that he fully understood to whom

he was indebted for the most valuable presents he had received. As it was too large for me to take on board, I could only thank him for his good intention ; but it would have pleased him much better if his present could have been accepted.

We were detained here some days longer than I expected by light breezes from the west. At length, at three o'clock in the evening of the 29th, the wind came from the east, and we weighed anchor.

When the Spanish ships, which had some time before touched here, left the island, four Spaniards remained behind. Two were priests, one a servant, and the fourth made himself very popular among the natives, who distinguished him by the name of Matema. He seems to have been a person who had studied their language, or, at least, to have spoken it so as to be understood, and to have taken uncommon pains to impress the minds of the islanders with the most exalted ideas of the greatness of the Spanish nation, and to make them think meanly of the English. He even went so far as to assure them, that we no longer existed as an independent nation ; that Pretane was only a small island, which they, the Spaniards, had entirely destroyed ; and that they had met with me at sea, and, with a few shot, had sent my ship, and every soul in her, to the bottom, so that my visiting Otaheite at this time was of course very unexpected. With what design the priests stayed, we cannot guess. If it was to convert the people to the Catholic faith, they had not succeeded in any one instance. When they had stayed ten months, two ships came to Oheitepeha, took them on board, and sailed again in five days.

Otoo said, if the Spaniards should return, he would not let them come to Matavia Fort, which, he said, was ours. It was easy to see that the idea pleased him, little thinking that the completion of it would at once deprive him of his kingdom and the people of their liberties. This shows with what facility a settlement might be obtained at Otaheite, which, grateful as I am for repeated good offices, I hope will never happen.

We had no sooner anchored in the neighbouring island of Eimeo than the ships were crowded with the inhabitants, whom curiosity alone brought on board, for they had nothing with them for the purpose of barter ; but the next morning several canoes arrived, from more distant parts, bringing with them abundance of bread-fruit, cocoa-nuts, and a few hogs. These they exchanged for hatchets, nails, and beads ; for red feathers were not so much sought for here as at Otaheite. In the morning of the 2nd of October, Maheine, the chief of the island, paid me a visit. He approached the ship with great caution, and it required some persuasion to get him on board. This chief, who, with a few followers, had made himself independent of Otaheite, is between forty and fifty years old. He is bald-headed, which is rather uncommon in these islands at that age, and wore a kind of turban, as he seemed ashamed to show his head. They had seen us shave the head of one of their people, whom we had caught stealing, and therefore concluded that this was the punishment usually inflicted by us upon all thieves ; and one or two of our gentlemen, whose heads were not overburthened with hair, we could observe, lay under violent suspicions of being tetos, or thieves.

We hauled the ship off into the stream on the 6th of October, intending to put to sea the next day, but an accident happened which prevented it. We had sent our goats ashore to graze, with two men to look after them ; but, notwithstanding this precaution, the natives had contrived to steal one of them in the evening. The loss of this goat would have been of little consequence if it had not interfered with my views of stocking other islands with these animals ; but this being the case, it became necessary to recover it, if possible, and after much trouble we succeeded.

At Eimeo we abundantly supplied the ships with firewood. We had not taken any in at Otaheite, there not being a tree at Matavia but what is useful to the inhabitants. There is a very striking difference in the women of this island and those of Otaheite. Those of Eimeo are of low stature, are of a dark hue, and, in general, forbidding features. If we met

with a fine woman among them, we were sure to find, upon inquiry, that she had come from some other island.

We left Eimeo on the 12th of October, 1777, and the next morning saw Huaheine. At noon we anchored at the north entrance of Owharre harbour, which is on the west side of the island. Our arrival brought all the principal people to our ships, which was what I wished, as it was high time to think of settling Omai; and the presence of these chiefs, I thought, would enable me to do it in the most satisfactory manner. After the hurry of the morning was over, we got ready to pay a formal visit to Taireetareea, the sovereign, meaning then to introduce this business. Omai dressed himself very properly on this occasion, and prepared a handsome present for the chief himself, and another for his Eatooa; indeed, after he got clear of the gang that surrounded him at Otaheite, he behaved with such prudence as to gain respect. We waited some time for Taireetareea, but when he appeared I found that his presence might have been dispensed with, as he was not above eight or ten years of age. Omai, who stood at a little distance from this circle of great men, began with making his offerings to the gods, consisting of red feathers, cloth, and other articles, which were each laid before one of the company, who, I understood, was a priest, and delivered with a set speech or prayer, spoken by one of Omai's friends, who sat by him, but mostly dictated by himself. In these prayers he did not forget his friends in England, nor those who had brought him safe back; the "Earee rahie no Pretane" (King George), Lord Sandwich, Toote, and Tatee (Cook and Clarke), were mentioned in every one of them. When Omai's offerings and prayers were finished, the priest took each article, in the same order in which it had been laid before him, and after repeating a prayer, sent it to the morai, which, as Omai told us, was at a great distance, otherwise the offerings would have been made there. Omai sat down by me and we entered upon business. Omai's establishment was then proposed to the assembled chiefs: he acquainted them "that he had been carried by us into our country, where he was well

received by the great king and his carrees, and treated with every mark of regard and affection while he stayed amongst us ; that he had been brought back again, enriched by our liberality with a variety of articles, which would prove very useful to his countrymen ; and that, besides the two horses, which were to remain with him, several new and valuable animals had been left at Otaheite, which would soon multiply, and furnish a sufficient number for the use of all the islands in the neighbourhood. He then signified to them that it was my earnest request, in return for all my friendly offices, that they would give him a piece of land to build a house upon, and to raise provisions for himself and servants ; adding, that if this could not be obtained for him in Huaheine, either by gift or by purchase, I was determined to carry him to Ulietea, and fix him there."

One of the chiefs immediately expressed himself to this effect : " that the whole island of Huaheine, and everything in it, were mine, and that, therefore, I might give what portion of it I pleased to my friend." Omai was greatly pleased to hear this ; thinking, no doubt, that I should be very liberal, and give him enough. But to offer what it would have been improper to accept, I considered as offering nothing at all, and, therefore, I now desired that they would not only assign the particular spot, but also the exact quantity of land which they would allot for the settlement. After a short consultation among themselves my request was granted, and the ground immediately pitched upon, adjoining to the house where our meeting was held. The extent along the shore of the harbour was about 200 yards, and its depth, to the foot of the hill, somewhat more, but a proportional part of the hill was included in the grant. This business being settled, to the satisfaction of all parties, I set up a tent ashore, established a post, and erected the observatories. The carpenters of both ships were also set to work to build a small house for Omai, in which he might secure the European commodities that were his property. At the same time some hands were employed in making a garden for his use.

While we lay in this harbour, we carried ashore the bread

remaining in the bread-room, to clear it of vermin. The number of cockroaches that infested the ship at this time was incredible; the damage they did us was very considerable, and every method devised by us to destroy them proved ineffectual. According to Mr. Anderson's observations, they were of two sorts, the *Blatta orientalis* and *germanica*. The first of these had been carried home in the ship from her former voyage, where they withstood the severity of the hard winter in 1766, though she was in dock all the time. The others had only made their appearance since our leaving New Zealand, but had increased so fast, that when a sail was loosened, thousands of them fell upon the decks. The *orientalis*, though in infinite numbers, scarcely came out but in the night, when they made everything in the cabin seem as if in motion, from the particular noise in crawling about.

The intercourse of trade and friendly offices was carried on between us and the natives, without being disturbed by any one accident, till the evening of the 22nd, when a man found means to get into Mr. Bayley's observatory, and to carry off the sextant unobserved. As soon as I was made acquainted with this, I went ashore, and got Omai to apply to the chiefs to procure restitution. He did so, but they took no steps towards it, being more attentive to a heeva that was then acting, till I ordered the performers of the exhibition to desist. They were now convinced that I was in earnest, and began to make some inquiry after the thief, who was sitting in the midst of them, quite unconcerned, inso-much that I was in great doubt of his being the guilty person, especially as he denied it. Omai, however, assuring me that he was the man, I sent him on board the ship, and there confined him. This raised a general ferment amongst the assembled natives, and the whole body fled, in spite of all my endeavours to stop them. Having employed Omai to examine the prisoner, with some difficulty he was brought to confess where he had hid the sextant; but, as it was now dark, we could not find it till daylight the next morning, when it was brought back uninjured. After this, the natives recovered from their fright, and began to gather about us as usual. As

the thief seemed to be a very hardened fellow, I punished him with some severity. This, however, did not deter him, for in the night of the 24th a general alarm was spread, occasioned, as was said, by one of our goats being stolen by this very man. On examination, we found that all was safe in that quarter; probably, the goats were so well guarded, that he could not put his design into execution, but it appeared that he had destroyed and carried off several vines and cabbage plants in Omai's grounds, and he publicly threatened to kill him and to burn his house as soon as we should leave the island. To prevent the fellow's doing me and Omai any more mischief, I had him seized and confined again on board the ship, with a view of carrying him off the island; and it seemed to give general satisfaction to the chiefs that I meant thus to dispose of him.

Omai's house being nearly finished, many of his movables were carried ashore on the 26th. Amongst a variety of other useless articles was a box of toys, which, when exposed to public view, seemed greatly to please the gazing multitude. But as to his pots, kettles, dishes, plates, drinking mugs, glasses, and the whole train of our domestic accommodation, hardly any one of his countrymen would so much as look at them. Omai himself now began to think that they were of no manner of use to him; that a baked hog was more savoury food than a boiled one; that a plantain-leaf made as good a dish or plate as pewter; and that a cocoa-nut shell was as convenient a goblet as a black jack; and therefore he very wisely disposed of as many of these articles of English furniture for the kitchen and pantry as he could find purchasers for amongst the people of the ships, receiving from them in return hatchets and other iron tools, which had a more intrinsic value in this part of the world, and added more to his distinguishing superiority over those with whom he was to pass the remainder of his days.

Early in the morning of the 30th, the Bolabola man whom I had put into confinement found means to make his escape from the ship. Upon inquiry, it appeared that, not only the sentry placed over the prisoner, but the whole watch upon



the quarter-deck, where he was confined, had laid themselves down to sleep. He seized the opportunity to take the key of the irons out of the binnacle drawer, where he had seen it put, and set himself at liberty. I was not a little pleased to hear afterwards that this fellow had transported himself to Ulietea.

As soon as Omai was settled in his new habitation, I began to think of leaving the island, and got everything off from the shore this evening, except the horse and mare, a boar and sow of the English breed, and a goat, which were left in the possession of our friend, with whom we were now finally to part. Omai had picked up at Otaheite four or five Toutous ; the two New Zealand youths remained with him, and his brother and some others joined him at Huaheine, so that his family already consisted of eight or ten persons, if that can be called a family, to which not a single female belonged, for Omai did not seem at all disposed to take unto himself a wife. The house that we erected for him was twenty-four feet by eighteen, and ten feet high. It was settled that, immediately, after our departure, he should begin to build a large house, after the fashion of his country, one end of which was to be brought over that which we had erected, so as to enclose it entirely ; for greater security in this work, some of the chiefs promised to assist him. His European weapons consisted of a musket, bayonet, and cartouch-box, a fowling-piece, two pairs of pistols, and two or three swords or cutlasses. The possession of these made him quite happy, and after he had got on shore everything that belonged to him, and was settled in his house, he had most of the officers of both ships two or three times to dinner ; and his table was always well supplied with the very best provisions that the island produced.

Before I sailed I had the following inscription cut upon the outside of his house :—

Georgius Tertius, Rex, 9 November, 1777.

Naves { *Resolution*, Jac. Cook, Pr.  
           { *Discovery*, Car. Clarke, Pr.

On the 2nd of November, at four in the afternoon, I took advantage of a breeze which then sprung up from the east, and

sailed out of the harbour. Most of our friends remained on board till the ships were under weigh, when, to gratify their curiosity, I ordered five guns to be fired. They then took their leave, except Omai, who remained till we were at sea; an hour or two later he went ashore, taking a very affectionate farewell of all the officers. He sustained himself with a manly resolution till he came to me, when his utmost efforts to conceal his tears failed; and Mr. King, who went in the boat, told me that he wept all the time in going ashore.

Omai's return, and the substantial proofs he brought back with him of our liberality, encouraged many to offer themselves as volunteers to attend me to Pretane. I took every opportunity of expressing my determination to reject all such applications. If there had been the most distant probability of any ship being again sent to New Zealand, I would have brought home with me two youths of that country, who were very desirous of continuing with us. Tiarooa, the elder, was an exceedingly well-disposed young man, with strong natural sense, and capable of receiving any instruction. He seemed to be fully sensible of the inferiority of his own country to these islands, and resigned himself, though perhaps with reluctance, to end his days in ease and plenty in Huaheine. But the other was so strongly attached to us that he was taken out of the ship and carried ashore by force. He was a witty, smart boy, and on that account much noticed on board. But notwithstanding this, Omai, who was very ambitious of remaining the only great traveller, frequently reminded me that Lord Sandwich had told him no others of his countrymen were to come to England.

On the return of the boat which carried Omai ashore, never to join us again, I immediately stood over for Ulietea where I intended to touch next. At ten o'clock at night we brought to, till four the next morning, when we made sail round the south end of the island for the harbour of Ohama-neno. We met with calms and light airs of wind, from different directions by turns, so that at noon we were still a league from the entrance of the harbour. While we were thus detained, my old friend Oreo, chief of the island, with his

son, and Pootoe, his son-in-law, came off to visit us. Being resolved to make for the harbour, I ordered all the boats to be hoisted out, and sent them ahead to tow, but we were obliged to come to an anchor at its entrance at two o'clock, and to warp in, which employed us till night set in. As soon as we were within the harbour the ships were surrounded with canoes filled with people, who brought hogs and fruit to barter with us for our commodities. Next morning, being the 4th, I moored the ship's head and stern close to the north shore at the head of the harbour; hauled up the cables on deck, and opened one of the ballast ports. From this a slight stage was made to the land, about twenty feet distant, with a view to get clear of some of the rats that continued to infest us. The *Discovery* moored alongside the south shore for the same purpose. While this work was going forward I returned Oreo's visit. The present I made him on the occasion consisted of a linen gown, a shirt, a red-feathered cap from Tongataboo, and other things of less value. I then brought him and some friends on board to dinner. On the 6th we set up the observatories, and got the necessary instruments on shore.

Nothing worthy of note happened till the night of the 12th, when John Harrison, a marine, who was sentinel at the observatory, deserted, carrying with him his musket and accoutrements. Having in the morning got intelligence which way he had moved off, a party was sent after him, but they returned in the evening, after an ineffectual inquiry and search. The next day I applied to the chief to interest himself in the matter. He promised to send a party of his men after him, but I had reason to suspect that no steps had been taken by him. We had at this time a great number of natives about the ships, and some thefts were committed; dreading the consequences, very few visitors came near us the next morning, and the chief himself with his whole family fled. I thought this a good opportunity to oblige them to deliver up the deserter, and having heard that he was at a place called Hamoa, on the other side of the island, I went thither with two armed boats, accompanied by one of the

natives, on our way embarking the chief. I landed about a mile and a half from the place, with a few people, and marched briskly up to it, lest the sight of the boats should give the alarm, and allow the man time to escape to the mountains. But this precaution was unnecessary, for the natives there had got information of my coming, and were prepared to deliver him up.

I found Harrison with his musket lying before him, sitting between two women, who, the moment I entered the house, rose up to plead in his behalf. As it was highly proper to discourage such proceedings, I frowned upon them, and bid them begone, upon which they burst into tears and walked off. Paha, the chief of the district, now came with a plantain tree and a sucking pig, which he would have presented to me as a peace-offering. I rejected it, and ordered him out of my sight, and having embarked with the deserter on board the first boat that arrived, returned to the ship. After this, harmony was again restored. The fellow had nothing to say in his defence, but that the natives had enticed him away, and this might in part be true, as it was certain Paha, and also the two women above mentioned, had been at the ship the day before he deserted. As it appeared that he remained at his post till within a few minutes of the time when he was to have been relieved, the punishment I inflicted upon him was not very severe.

While we lay moored to the shore we heeled and scrubbed both sides of the bottoms of the ships. At the same time we fixed some tin plates upon the binds, first taking off the old sheathing, and putting in a piece unfilled, over which the plates were nailed.

On the morning of the 24th I was informed that a midshipman and a seaman, both belonging to the *Discovery*, were missing. Soon after, we learnt from the natives that they went away in a canoe the preceding evening, and were at this time at the other end of the island. As the midshipman was known to have expressed a desire to remain at these islands, it seemed pretty certain that he and his companion had gone off with this intention; and Captain Clerke set out

In quest of them with two armed boats and a party of marines. His expedition proved fruitless, for he returned in the evening without having got any certain intelligence where they were. From the conduct of the natives, Captain Clerke seemed to think that they intended to conceal the deserters, and with that view had given him false information the whole day, which turned out to be correct, for the next morning we were told that our runaways were at Otaha. As these two were not the only persons in the ships who wished to end their days at these favourite islands, in order to put a stop to any further desertion, it was necessary to get them back at all hazards ; and that the natives might be convinced that I was in earnest, I resolved to go after them myself, having observed, from repeated instances, that they seldom offered to deceive me with false information. Accordingly, I set out the next morning with two armed boats, being accompanied by the chief himself. I proceeded as he directed, without stopping anywhere, till we came to the middle of the east side of Otaha. Then we put ashore, and Oreo dispatched a man before us with orders to seize the deserters, and keep them till we should arrive with the boats. But when we got to the place where we expected to find them, we were told that they had quitted this island, and gone over to Bolabola the day before. I did not think proper to follow them thither, but returned to the ships, fully determined, however, to have recourse to a measure which I guessed would oblige the natives to bring them back.

Soon after daybreak the chief, his son, daughter, and son-in-law, came on board the *Resolution*. The three last I resolved to detain till the two deserters should be brought back. With this view Captain Clerke invited them to go on board his ship, and, as soon as they arrived there, confined them in his cabin. The chief was with me when the news reached him, and he immediately acquainted me with it, supposing that this step had been taken without my knowledge, and, consequently, without my approbation. I instantly undeceived him, when he began to have apprehensions as to his own situation, and his looks expressed

the utmost perturbation of mind ; but I soon made him easy as to this, by telling him that he was at liberty to leave the ship whenever he pleased, and to take such measures as he should judge best calculated to get our two men back ; that if he succeeded, his friends on board the *Discovery* should be delivered up ; if not, that I was determined to carry them with me. I added, that his own conduct, as well as that of many of his people, in not only assisting these two men to escape, but in being, even at this very time, assiduous in enticing others to follow them, would justify any step I could take to put a stop to such proceedings. This explanation of the motives upon which I acted, and which we found means to make Oreo, and those of his people who were present, fully comprehend, seemed to reassure them in a great measure. But, if relieved from apprehension about their own safety, they continued under the deepest concern for those who were prisoners. Many of them went under the *Discovery's* stern in canoes to bewail their captivity, which they did with long and loud exclamations. "Poedooa !" (for so the chief's daughter was called) resounded from every quarter ; and the women seemed to vie with each other in mourning her fate, with more significant expressions of their grief than tears and cries, for there were many bloody heads upon the occasion. ~

Oreo himself did not give way to unavailing lamentations, but instantly began his exertions to recover our deserters by dispatching a canoe to Bolabola, with a message to Opoony, the sovereign of that island, acquainting him with what had happened, and requesting him to seize the two fugitives and send them back. The messenger, who was no less a man than the father of Pootoe, Oreo's son-in-law, before he set out came to receive my commands. I strictly enjoined him not to return without the deserters, and to tell Opoony from me, that if they had left Bolabola he must send canoes to bring them back, for I suspected that they would not long remain in one place. Urged by a regard for the high rank of the prisoners, the natives did not think proper to trust to the return of our people for their release ; or at least their

Impatience was so great, that it hurried them to meditate an attempt which might have involved them in still greater distress, had it not been fortunately prevented. Between five and six o'clock in the evening I observed that all their canoes, in and about the harbour, began to move off, as if some sudden panic had seized them. I was ashore, abreast of the ship, at the time, and inquired in vain to find out the cause, till our people called to us from the *Discovery*, and told us that a party of the natives had seized Captain Clerke and Mr. Gore, who had walked out a little way from the ships. Struck with the boldness of this plan of retaliation, which seemed to counteract me so effectually in my own way, there was no time to deliberate; I instantly ordered the people to arm, and in less than five minutes a strong party, under the command of Mr. King, was sent to rescue our two gentlemen; at the same time two armed boats, and a party under Mr. Williamson, went after the flying canoes, to cut off their retreat to the shore. These several detachments were hardly out of sight before an account arrived that we had been misinformed, upon which I sent and called them all in.

It was evident, however, from several corroborating circumstances, that the design of seizing Captain Clerke had really been in agitation amongst the natives, nay, they made no secret in speaking of it the next day; but their first and great plan of operation was to have laid hold of me. It was my custom, every evening, to bathe in the fresh water. Very often I went alone, and always without arms. Expecting me to go as usual this evening, they had determined to seize me, and Captain Clerke, too, if he had accompanied me; but I had, after confining Oreo's family, thought it prudent to avoid putting myself in their power, and had cautioned Captain Clerke and the officers not to go far from the ships. In the course of the afternoon the chief asked me three several times if I would not go to the bathing-place, and when he found, at last, that I could not be prevailed upon to do so, he went off, with the rest of his people, in spite of all that I could do or say to stop him. But as I had no suspicion at this time of

their design, I imagined that some sudden fright had seized them, which would, as usual, soon be over. Finding themselves disappointed as to me, they fixed on those who were more in their power. It was fortunate for all parties that they did not succeed, and not less fortunate that no mischief was done on the occasion, for not a musket was fired, except two or three to stop the canoes. To that firing, perhaps, Messrs. Clerke and Gore owed their safety,\* for, at that very instant, a party of the natives, armed with clubs, were advancing towards them, and on hearing the reports of the muskets they dispersed. The conspiracy, as it may be called, was first discovered by a girl whom one of the officers had brought from Huaheine. She, overhearing some of the Ulieteans say that they would seize Captain Clerke and Mr. Gore, ran to acquaint the first of our people that she met with. Those who were charged with the execution of the design threatened to kill her, as soon as we should leave the island, for disappointing them. Being aware of this, we contrived that her friends should come, some days after, and take her out of the ship, to convey her to a place of safety till they could have an opportunity of sending her back to Huaheine.

On the 27th our observatories were taken down, and everything we had ashore carried on board ; the moorings of the ship were cast off, and we transported them a little way down the harbour, where they were brought to an anchor again. Towards the afternoon, the natives began to shake off their fears, gathering round and on board the ships as usual, and the awkward transactions of the day before seemed to be forgotten on both sides. The following night the wind blew in hard squalls from south to east, attended with heavy showers of rain. In one of the squalls, the cable by which the *Resolution* was riding, parted just without the hawse. We had another ready to let go, so that the ship was presently brought up again. In the afternoon, the wind became moderate, and

\* Perhaps they owed their safety principally to Captain Clerke's walking with a pistol in his hand, which he once fired. The circumstance is omitted both in Captain Cook's and Mr. Anderson's journal, but it is here mentioned on the authority of Captain King.



we hooked the end of the best small bower cable, and got it again into the hawse. Oreo, the chief, being uneasy as well as myself that no account had been received from Bolabola, set out this evening for that island, and desired me to follow him the next day with the ships. This was my intention, but the wind would not admit of our getting to sea, though the same wind which kept us in the harbour brought Oreo back from Bolabola with the two deserters. They had reached Otaha the same night they deserted, but finding it impossible to get to any of the islands to the eastward, for want of wind, they had proceeded to Bolabola, and from thence to the small island Toobaee, where they were taken by the father of Pootoe, in consequence of the first message sent to Opoony. As soon as they were on board, the three prisoners were released, and thus ended the affair, which had given me much trouble and vexation; nor would I have exerted myself so resolutely on the occasion, but for the reasons before mentioned, and to save the son of a brother officer from being lost to his country.

The wind continued between the north and west, and confined us in the harbour till eight o'clock in the morning of the 7th of December, when we took advantage of a light breeze which then sprang from the north-east, and, with the assistance of all the boats, got out to sea, with the *Discovery* in company. During the last week we had been visited by people from all parts of the island, who furnished us with a large stock of hogs and green plantains. So that the time we lay wind-bound in the harbour was not entirely lost, green plantains being an excellent substitute for bread, as they will keep for a fortnight or three weeks. Besides this supply of provisions, we also completed our wood and water.

Ulietea, before its conquest by Bolabola, was, as we were told, the most important of that cluster of islands, and probably the first seat of government, for they say that the present royal family of Otaheite is descended from that which reigned here before the late revolution. Ooroo, the dethroned monarch of Ulietea, was still alive when we were at Huaheina, where he resides, preserving all the emblems which they

appropriate to majesty, though he has lost his dominions. We saw 2 similar instance of this while we were at Ulietea. One of the occasional visitors I now had was my old friend Oreo, the late chief of Huaheine, who still preserved his consequence, and came always at the head of a numerous body of attendants.

As soon as we got clear of the harbour, we took our leave of Ulietea, and steered for Bolabola. The chief, if not the sole object I had in view in visiting that island was to procure from its monarch, Opoony, one of the anchors which Monsieur de Bougainville had lost at Otaheite. This, having afterwards been taken up by the natives there, had, as they informed me, been sent by them as a present to that chief. My desire to get possession of it did not arise from our being in want of anchors, but, having expended all the hatchets and other iron tools which we had brought from England in purchasing fresh provisions, we were now reduced to the necessity of creating a fresh assortment of trading articles by fabricating them out of the spare iron we had on board ; and in such conversions, and in the occasional uses of the ships, great part of that had been already expended. I thought that M. de Bougainville's anchor would supply our want of this useful material, and I made no doubt that I should be able to tempt Opoony to part with it. Oreo, who is a sort of deputy of the king of Bolabola, and six or eight men from Ulietea, took a passage with us to Bolabola ; indeed, most of the natives, except the chief himself, would have gladly taken a passage with us to England. At sunset, being near the south point of Bolabola, we shortened sail, and spent the night making short boards. At daybreak on the 8th we made sail for the harbour, which is on the west side of the island ; but the tide and wind being against us, I gave up the design of carrying the ships into the harbour ; and having ordered the boats to be got ready, I embarked in one of them, accompanied by Oreo and his companions, and was rowed in for the island. We landed where the natives directed us, and soon after I

was introduced to Opoony in the midst of a great concourse of people. Having no time to lose, as soon as the necessary formalities were over, I asked the chief to give me the anchor, and produced the present I had prepared for him, consisting of a linen night-gown, a shirt, some gauze handkerchiefs, a looking-glass, some beads, and other toys, and six axes. At the sight of these last there was a general outcry, but I could only guess the cause by Opoony's absolutely refusing to receive my present till I should get the anchor. He ordered three men to go and deliver it to me ; and as I understood, I was to send by them what I thought proper in return. With these messengers we set out in our boat for an island, lying at the north side of the entrance into the harbour, where the anchor had been deposited. I found it to be neither so large nor so perfect as I expected. It had originally weighed 700 pounds, according to the mark that was upon it ; but the ring, with part of the shank and two palms, were wanting. I was no longer at a loss to guess the reason of Opoony's refusing my present. He doubtless thought that it so much exceeded the value of the anchor in its present state, that I should be displeased when I saw it. Be this as it may, I took the anchor as I found it, and sent him every article of the present that I at first intended. Having thus completed my negotiation, I returned on board, and having hauled in the boats, made sail from the island to the north.

While the boats were hoisting in, some of the natives came off in three or four canoes to see the ship, as they said. They brought with them a few cocoa-nuts and one pig, which was the only one we got at the island. I make no doubt, however, that if we had stayed till the next day, we should have been plentifully supplied with provisions ; but as we had already a very good stock, both of hogs and of fruit, on board, and very little of anything left to purchase more, I could have no inducement to defer any longer the prosecution of our voyage.

After leaving Bolabola, I steered to the northward, close-

hauled, with the wind between north-east and east, hardly ever having it to the southward of east till after we had crossed the line, and had got into north latitudes.

Though seventeen months had now elapsed since our departure from England, during which we had not, upon the whole, been unprofitably employed, I was sensible that, with regard to the principal object of my instructions, our voyage was, at this time, only beginning ; and therefore my attention to every circumstance that might contribute towards our safety and our ultimate success, was now to be called forth anew. With this view I had examined into the state of our provisions at the last islands ; and as soon as I had left them, and got beyond the extent of my former discoveries, I ordered a survey to be taken of all the boatswain's and carpenter's stores that were in the ships, that I might be fully informed of the quantity, state, and condition of every article, and by that means know how to use them to the greatest advantage.

In the night of the 22nd we crossed the line in the longitude of  $203^{\circ} 15'$  East, and on the 24th, about half an hour after daybreak, land was discovered bearing north-east. Upon a nearer approach, it was found to be one of those low islands so common in this ocean, that is, a narrow bank of land enclosing the sea within ; a few cocoa-nut trees were seen in two or three places, but in general the land had a very barren appearance. Having dropped anchor in thirty fathoms, a boat was despatched to examine whether it was practicable to land, of which I had some doubt, as the sea broke in a dreadful surf all along the shore. When the boat returned, the officer whom I had entrusted with this examination, reported to me that he could see no place where a boat could land, but that there was a great abundance of fish in the shoal water without the breakers.

At daybreak the next morning I sent two boats, one from each ship, to search more accurately for a landing-place, and at the same time two others to fish near the shore. These last returned about eight o'clock, with upwards of two hundred-weight of fish. Encouraged by this success,

they were despatched again after breakfast, and I then went in another boat to take a view of the coast and attempt landing, which, however, I found to be wholly impracticable. Towards noon, the two boats sent on the same search returned. In consequence of the report of the master, that about a league and a half to the north was a break in the land, and a channel into the lagoon, the ships weighed anchor and came to again in twenty fathoms of water, before a small island that lies at the entrance of the lagoon, and on each side of which there is a channel suitable for boats leading into it. The water in the lagoon itself is very shallow.

On the 28th I landed, in company with Mr. Bayley, on the island which lies between the two channels in the lagoon, to prepare the telescopes for observing an approaching eclipse of the sun, which was one great inducement to my anchoring here.

On the morning of the 30th, the day when the eclipse was to happen, Mr. King, Mr. Bayley, and myself, went ashore on the small island above mentioned, to attend the observation. The sky was overcast till past nine o'clock, when the clouds about the sun dispersed long enough to take its altitude to rectify the time by the watch we made use of. After this, it was again obscured till about thirty minutes past nine, and then we found that the eclipse had begun. We now fixed the micrometers to the telescopes, and observed or measured the uneclipsed part of the sun's disc. At these observations I continued about three-quarters of an hour before the end, when I left off, being, in fact, unable to continue them any longer, on account of the great heat of the sun, increased by the reflection from the sand.

In the afternoon, the boats and turtling party at the south-east part of the island all returned on board, except a seaman belonging to the *Discovery*, who had been missing two days. There were two of them at first who had lost their way, but disagreeing about the most probable track to bring them back to their companions, they had separated; one of them joined the party after having been absent twenty-four hours and been in great distress. Not a drop of fresh water could be

had, for there is none upon the whole island, nor was there a single cocoa-nut tree on that part of it. In order to allay his thirst he had recourse to a singular expedient of killing turtles and drinking their blood. His mode of refreshing himself, when weary, of which he said he felt the good effects, was equally whimsical; he undressed himself and lay down for some time in the shallow water upon the beach. It was a matter of surprise to every one how these men could contrive to lose themselves. The land over which they had to travel, from the sea-coast to the lagoon, where the boats lay, was not more than three miles across, nor was there anything to obstruct their view, for the country was flat, with a few shrubs scattered upon it, and from many parts of it the masts of the vessels could easily be seen.

As soon as Captain Clerke knew that one of the stragglers was still in this awkward situation, he sent a party in search of him; but neither the man nor the party having come back the next morning, I ordered two boats into the lagoon, to go different ways, in prosecution of the search. Not long after, Captain Clerke's party returned with their lost companion, and my boats having now no object left, I called them back by signal. This poor fellow must have suffered far greater distress than the other straggler, not only as having been lost a longer time, but because he had been too squeamish to drink turtle's blood.

Having some cocoa-nuts and yams on board in a state of vegetation, I ordered them to be planted on the spot where we had observed the eclipse, and some melon seeds were sown in another place. I also left on the little island a bottle, containing the following inscription :

*Georgia Tertius, Rex, 31 December. 1777.*

Naves { *Resolution*, Jac. Cook, Pr.  
           { *Discovery*, Car. Clerke, Pr.

On the 1st of January, 1778, I sent boats to bring on board all our parties from the island, and the turtles they had caught. Before this was completed, it was too late in the afternoon, so that I did not think proper to sail till the next morning. We got at this island, for both ships, about

300 turtles, weighing, one with another, about ninety or a hundred pounds. This island has been produced by accessions from the sea, and is in a state of increase, for not only the broken pieces of coral, but many of the shells are too heavy and large to have been brought by any birds from the beach to the places where they now lie. Not a drop of fresh water was anywhere found, though frequently dug for, and there were not the smallest traces of any human being having ever been here before us. On the few cocoa-trees upon the island, the number of which did not exceed thirty, very little fruit was found, and, in general, what was found was either not fully grown or had the juice salt or brackish. A ship touching here must expect nothing but fish and turtles, but of these an abundant supply may be depended upon.

On some parts of the land were a few low trees, under which sat infinite numbers of a new species of tern, or egg-bird. These are black above and white below, with a white arch on the forehead, and are rather larger than the common noddy. Most of them had lately hatched their young, which lay under the old ones upon the bare ground. The rest had eggs, of which they only lay one, larger than that of a pigeon, bluish and speckled with black. There were also many common boobies, resembling a gannet, and a sooty or chocolate-coloured one, with a white belly. To this list we may add men-of-war birds, tropic birds, curlews, sand-pipers, a small land bird like a hedge-sparrow, land crabs, small lizards, and rats.

As we kept our Christmas here, I called this discovery Christmas Island. I took it to be about fifteen or twenty leagues in circumference, and of a semicircular form—or like the moon in the last quarter, the two horns being the north and south points.

On the 2d of January, at daybreak, we weighed anchor and resumed our course to the north; and on the morning of the 18th \* discovered an island; and soon after more land,

\* This date, the 18th of January, 1778, will be ever memorable in the annals of geographical discovery, as the day on which the group known as the Sandwich Islands was given to civilisation by the enterprise of Captain Cook.

bearing north, and entirely sheltered from the former. Both had the appearance of being high land.

On the 19th, at sunrise, the island first seen bore east several leagues distant. This being directly to windward, which prevented our getting near it, I stood for the other, which we could reach, and not long after discovered a third island in the direction of west-north-west, as far distant as land could be seen. We steered for the second island, which at noon was about two leagues distant. At this time we were in some doubt whether or no the land before us was inhabited, but soon after saw some canoes coming off from the shore toward the ships. I immediately brought to, to give them time to join us. They had from three to six men each, and on their approach we were agreeably surprised to find that they spoke the language of Otaheite and of the other islands we had lately visited. It required very little address to get them to come alongside, but no entreaties could prevail upon any of them to come on board. I tied some brass medals to a rope, and gave them to those in one of the canoes; who, in return, tied some small mackerel to the rope as an equivalent. This was repeated, and some nails, or bits of iron, which they valued more than any other article, were given them. For these they exchanged more fish and a sweet potato; and having only some large gourd shells and a kind of fishing-net, one of them offered for sale the piece of stuff he wore round his waist. These people were of a brown colour, and, though of the common size, were stoutly made. The hair of most of them was cropped pretty short; others had it flowing loose; and with a few, it was tied in a bunch on the crown of the head. In all it seemed naturally black; but most of them had stained it, as is the practice of the Friendly Islanders, with some stuff which gave it a brown or burnt colour. In general they wore their beards. They had no ornaments about their persons, and the bits of cloth which they wore were curiously stained with red, black, and white colours. They seemed very mild, and had no arms of any kind, if we except some small stones, which they had evidently brought for their own defence; and these they



threw overboard when they found that they were not wanted.

Seeing no signs of an anchoring-place at the eastern extremity of the island, I bore away to leeward, and ranged along the south-east side, at a distance of half a league from the shore. As soon as we made sail the canoes left us ; but others came off as we proceeded along the coast, bringing with them pigs and some very fine potatoes, which they exchanged as the others had done before, for whatever was offered to them. Several small pigs were purchased for a sixpenny nail, so that we again found ourselves in a land of plenty, and just at the time when the turtle, which we had so fortunately procured at Christmas Island, were nearly expended. We passed several villages ; some near the sea, and others farther up the country, the inhabitants of which crowded to the shore, and collected on the elevated places to view the ships.

We continued to sound, without striking ground, with a line of fifty fathoms. Night put a stop to further researches, when we stood off and on. The next morning we stood in for the land, and were met by several canoes, filled with people, some of whom took courage and ventured on board. In the course of my several voyages I never before met with the natives of any place so much astonished as these people were upon entering the ship. Their eyes were continually flying from object to object, the wildness of their looks and gestures fully expressing their entire ignorance about everything they saw, and denoting that, till now, they had never been visited by Europeans, nor been acquainted with any of our commodities, except iron, which, however, it was plain they had only heard of. They seemed only to understand that it was a substance much better adapted to the purposes of cutting or of boring holes, than anything their own country produced. They asked for it by the name of "*hamaite*," probably referring to some instrument, in the making of which iron could be usefully employed, as they applied that name to the blade of a knife, though we were certain that they had no idea of that particular instrument ; nor could they handle

it properly. For the same reason they frequently called iron by the name of "toe," which, in their language, signifies a hatchet, or rather, a kind of adze.

When we showed them some beads, they asked, first, what they were, and then whether they should eat them ; but on their being told that they were to be hung in their ears, they returned them as useless. They were equally indifferent to a looking-glass which was offered them, and returned it for the same reason, but sufficiently expressed their desire for "hamaite" and "toe," which they wished might be very large. Plates of earthenware, china cups, and other such things, were so new to them that they asked if they were made of wood, but wished to have some, that they might carry them to be looked at on shore. They were, in some respects, naturally well-bred, or, at least, fearful of giving offence ; asking whether they should sit down, and the like. Some of them repeated a long prayer before they came on board, and others afterwards sung and made motions with their hands, such as we had been accustomed to see in the dances of the islands we had lately visited. At first, on entering the ship, they endeavoured to steal everything they came near, or rather, to take it openly, as what we either should not resent or not hinder. We soon convinced them of their mistake, and if they, after some time, became less active in appropriating to themselves whatever they took a fancy to, it was because they found that we kept a watchful eye over them.

At nine o'clock, being pretty near the shore, I sent three armed boats, under the command of Lieutenant Williamson, to look for a landing-place and for fresh water, with orders that if he should find it necessary to land in search of the latter, not to suffer more than one man to go with him out of the boats. Just as they were pulling off from the ship one of the natives, having stolen the butcher's cleaver, leaped overboard, got into his canoe, and hastened to the shore, the boats pursuing him in vain.

While the boats were occupied in examining the coast we stood on and off with the ships, waiting for their return

About noon Mr. Williamson came back, and reported that he had seen a large pond behind a beach, near one of the villages, which the natives told him contained fresh water, and that there was anchoring ground before it. He also reported that he had attempted to land in another place, but was prevented by the natives, who, coming down to the boats in great numbers, attempted to take away the oars, muskets, and in short everything that they could lay hold of, and pressed so thick upon him that he was obliged fire, by which one man was killed. This unhappy circumstance I did not know till after we had left the island, so that all my measures were directed as if nothing of the kind had happened. Mr. Williamson told me, that after the man fell his countrymen took him up, carried him off, and then retired from the boat, but still made signals for our people to land, which he declined.

The ships being stationed, between three and four o'clock, I went ashore with three armed boats and twelve marines, to examine the water, and to try the disposition of the inhabitants, several hundreds of whom were assembled on a sandy beach before the villages, behind which was a narrow valley, having at the bottom the piece of water. The very instant I leaped on shore, the natives all fell flat upon their faces, and remained in that humble position till, by expressive signs, I prevailed upon them to rise; they then brought a great many small pigs, which they presented to me, with a plantain tree, using much the same ceremonies that we had seen practised on such occasions at the Society and other islands, a long prayer being also spoken by a single person, in which others of the assembly sometimes joined. I expressed my acceptance of their proffered friendship, by giving them in return such presents as I had brought with me from the ship for that purpose. When this introductory business was finished, I stationed a guard upon the beach, and got some of the natives to conduct me to the water, which proved to be very good, and in a proper situation for our purpose; it was so considerable that it may be called a lake, and it extended farther up the country than we could see. Having satisfied

myself about this point, and about the peaceable disposition of the natives, I returned on board ; and having given orders that everything should be in readiness for landing and filling our water-casks in the morning, I returned with the people employed in that service, and a guard of marines, who were stationed on the beach. As soon as we landed, a trade was set on foot for hogs and potatoes, which the people of this island gave us in exchange for nails and pieces of iron formed into something like chisels. We met with no obstruction in watering ; on the contrary, the natives assisted our men in rolling the casks to and from the pool, and readily performed whatever we required.

Everything going on thus to my satisfaction, and considering my presence on the spot as unnecessary, I left the command to Mr. Williamson, who had landed with me, and made an excursion into the country, up the valley, accompanied by Mr. Anderson and Mr. Webber, the former of whom was as well qualified to describe with the pen as the latter was to represent with his pencil everything we might meet with worthy of observation. A numerous train of natives followed us, and one of them, whom I had distinguished for his activity in keeping the rest in order, I made choice of as our guide ; this man, from time to time, proclaimed our approach, when everyone we met fell prostrate on the ground, and remained in that position till we had passed. This, as I afterwards understood, is the mode of paying their respect to their own great chiefs. As the ships worked down the coast, we had observed at every village one or more elevated white objects, like pyramids, or rather obelisks ; and one of these, which I guessed to be at least fifty feet high, was very conspicuous from the *Resolution's* deck at anchor, and seemed to be at no great distance up this valley. To have a nearer inspection of it was the principal object of my walk. Our guide perfectly understood what we wished, but as it was separated from us by the pool of water, and another of the same kind lay within our reach, about half a mile off, we set out to visit that. On our arrival we saw that it stood in a burying-ground, or morai, the

resemblance of which, in many respects, to those we were so well acquainted with at other islands in this ocean, and particularly Otaheite, could not but strike us; and we also soon found that the several parts that compose it were called by the same names. It was an oblong space, of considerable extent, surrounded by a wall of stone, about four feet high. The space enclosed was loosely paved with smaller stones; and at one end of it stood what I call the pyramid, which appeared to be an exact model of the larger one, observed by us from the ships. It was about four feet square at the base, and about twenty feet high: the four sides were composed of small poles, interwoven with twigs and branches, thus forming an indifferent wicker-work, hollow or open within, from bottom to top. It seemed to be in a rather ruinous state, but there were sufficient remaining marks to show that it had originally been covered with a thin, light grey cloth, which these people appear to consecrate to religious purposes. On each side of the pyramid were long pieces of wicker-work, in the same ruinous condition, with two slender poles inclining to each other, at one corner, where some plantains were laid upon a board, fixed at a height of five or six feet; this fruit was an offering to their gods. Before the pyramid were a few pieces of wood, carved into something like human figures, which, with a stone, near two feet high, covered with pieces of cloth, called "hoho," and consecrated to Tongarooa, who is the god of these people, completed the resemblance to the morais of the islands we had lately left.

On the farther side of the area of the morai stood a house, or shed, about forty feet long, ten broad in the middle, each end being narrower, and about ten feet high: on the farther side of this house, opposite the entrance, stood two wooden images, cut out of one piece, with pedestals, in all about three feet high, neither very indifferently designed or executed, which were said to be representations of goddesses. On the head of one of them was a carved helmet, not unlike those worn by the ancient warriors; and on that of the other a cylindrical cap, resembling the head-dress at Otaheite, called

tomou ; and both of them had pieces of cloth tied about the loins, and hanging a considerable way down. At the side of each was also a piece of carved wood, with bits of the cloth hung on them in the same manner ; and between or before the pedestals lay a quantity of fern, in a heap, which it was obvious had been deposited there piece by piece, and at different times.

In the middle of the house, and before the two images, was an oblong space, enclosed by a low edging of stones, and covered with shreds of the cloth so often mentioned ; this, on inquiry, we found was the grave of seven chiefs, whose names were enumerated. Our guides informed us that the horrid practice of offering human sacrifices prevailed in the island, and we found direct evidence of the truth of his statement.

After we had examined very carefully everything that was to be seen about the morai, and Mr. Webber had taken drawings of it and of the adjoining country, we returned by a different route. I found a great crowd assembled at the beach, and a brisk trade for pigs, fowls, and roots going on there with the greatest good order, though I did not observe any particular person who took the lead amongst the rest of his countrymen. At noon I went on board to dinner, and then sent Mr. King to command the party ashore. He was to have gone upon that service in the morning, but was detained in the ship, making lunar observations. In the afternoon I landed again, accompanied by Captain Clerke, and at sunset brought everybody on board, having procured, in the course of the day, nine tons of water, and by exchanges, chiefly for nails and pieces of iron, about seventy or eighty pigs, a few fowls, a quantity of potatoes, and a few plantains and taro roots.

Among the articles which they brought to barter this day, we noticed a particular sort of cloak and cap, which, even in countries where dress is more particularly attended to, might be reckoned elegant. The first are nearly of the size and shape of the short cloaks worn by the women in England, and by the men in Spain, reaching to the middle of the back,

and tied loosely before; the ground is a network, upon which the most beautiful red and yellow feathers are so closely fixed, that the surface might be compared to the thickest and richest velvet, which they resemble, both as to feel and glossy appearance. The manner of varying the mixture is very different; some having triangular spaces of red and yellow alternately, others a kind of crescent, and some that were entirely red, had a broad yellow border, which made them appear at some distance exactly like a scarlet cloak edged with gold lace. The brilliant colours of the feathers, in those that happened to be new, added not a little to their fine appearance; and we found that they were in high estimation with their owners, for they would not at first part with one of them for anything that we offered, asking no less a price than a musket. However, some were afterwards purchased for very large nails.

The cap is made almost exactly like a helmet, with the middle part or crest sometimes of a hand's breadth, and it sits very close upon the head, having notches to admit the ears. It is a frame of twigs and osiers, covered with a network, into which are wrought feathers, in the same manner as upon the cloaks, though rather closer, and less diversified; the greater part being red, with some black, yellow, or green stripes on the side, following the curve direction of the crest. These, probably, complete the dress, with the cloaks; for the natives sometimes appeared in both together.\*

On the 22nd the surf broke so high upon the shore that we could not land in our boats; but the natives ventured in their canoes, and bartered some hogs and roots. One of our visitors, on this occasion, who offered some fish-hooks for sale, was observed to have a very small parcel tied to the string of one of them, which he separated with great care, and reserved for himself when he parted with the hook. On seeing him so anxious to conceal the contents of this parcel, he was requested to open it, which he did with great reluctance and some difficulty, as it was wrapped up in many folds

\* These articles may be seen in the British Museum, and irrespective of their intrinsic worth, are interesting relics of the great navigator.

of cloth. We found that it contained a thin piece of human flesh, and that these people eat their enemies, using a small wooden instrument set with sharks' teeth, for the purpose of dissecting the bodies; indeed, one old man, upon being questioned as to whether they eat human flesh, answered in the affirmative, and laughed, seemingly, at the simplicity of such a question. He also said it was excellent food, or, as he expressed it, "savoury eating."

At seven o'clock in the evening the boats returned with two tons of water, a few hogs, a quantity of plantains, and some roots. Mr. King informed me that a great number of the inhabitants were at the watering or landing place, having come, as he supposed, from all parts of the island for the purpose of barter.

The ships quitted Atooi, as the natives called the island, on the 23rd of January, but owing to the prevalence of light airs and calms, were forced on the 29th to anchor off a village on the neighbouring island of Oneehow, where Captain Cook hoped to lay in a supply of fresh water. Six or seven canoes (says Captain Cook) came off to us before we anchored, bringing some small pigs and potatoes, and many yams and mats. The people in them resembled those of Atooi, and seemed to be equally well acquainted with the use of iron, which they asked for by the names of "hamaite" and "toe," parting eagerly with all their commodities for pieces of this precious metal. Several more canoes soon reached the ships after they had anchored; but the natives in these seemed to have no other object than to pay us a formal visit. Many of them came readily on board, crouching down upon the deck, and not quitting that humble posture till they were desired to get up. They had brought several females with them, who remained alongside in the canoes, behaving with less modesty than their countrywomen of Atooi, and at times all joining in a song, not remarkable for its melody, though performed in very exact concert, by beating time upon their breasts with their hands. The men who had come on board did not stay long, and they lay down on the deck locks of their hair.



On the 30th I sent Mr. Gore ashore with a guard of marines and a party to trade with the natives for provisions. I intended to have followed soon after, and went from the ship with that design. But the surf had increased so much by this time, that I was fearful, if I got ashore, I should not be able to get off again. This really happened to our people who had landed with Mr. Gore, the communication between them and the ships to our own boats being stopped. In the evening they made a signal for the boats, which were sent accordingly, and not long after they returned with a few yams and some salt.

The violence of the surf, which our own boats could not act against, did not hinder the natives from coming off to the ships in their canoes with provisions, which were purchased in exchange for nails and pieces of iron hoops ; and I distributed many pieces of ribbon and some buttons, as bracelets, among the women in their canoes.

About ten or eleven o'clock at night the wind veered to the south, and the sky seemed to forebode a storm. With such appearances, thinking we were rather too near the shore, I ordered the anchors to be hove up, and having moved the ships into forty-two fathoms, came to again in this safer station. The precaution, however, proved to be unnecessary ; for the wind, soon after, veered to north-east, from which quarter it blew a fresh gale, with squalls, attended with heavy showers of rain. This weather continued all the next day, and the sea ran so high, that we had no communication with our party on shore, and even the natives themselves durst not venture out to the ships in their canoes. In the evening I sent the master in a boat up to the south-east head or point of the island to try if he could land under it. He returned with a favourable report ; but it was too late now to send for our party till the next morning ; and thus they had another night to improve their intercourse with the natives. Encouraged by the master's report, I sent a boat to the south-east point as soon as daylight returned, with an order to Mr. Gore that, if he could not embark his people from the spot where they now were, to march them

up to the point. As the boat could not get to the beach, one of the crew swam ashore and carried the order. On the return of the boat, I went myself with the pinnace and launch up to the point, to bring the party on board; and being very desirous of benefiting these poor people by furnishing them with additional articles of food, took with me a ram and two ewes, a boar and sow of the English breed, and the seeds of melons, pumpkins, and onions. I landed with the greatest ease under the west side of the point, and found my party already there, with some of the natives in company. To one of them, whom Mr. Gore had observed assuming some command over the rest, I gave the goats, pigs, and seeds.

While the people were engaged in filling the water-casks from a small stream occasioned by the late rain, I walked a little way up the country, attended by the man above mentioned, and followed by two others, carrying the two pigs. As soon as we got on a rising ground, I stopped to look round me, and observed a woman, on the opposite side of the valley where I landed, calling to her countrymen who attended me. Upon this the chief began to mutter something, which I supposed was a prayer, and the two men who carried the pigs continued to walk round me all the time, making at least a dozen circuits before the other had finished his oration.

This ceremony being performed we proceeded, and presently met people coming from all parts, who, on being called by my attendants, threw themselves prostrate on their faces till I was out of sight. The ground through which I passed was in a state of nature, very stony, and the soil seemed poor. It was, however, covered with shrubs and plants, which perfumed the air with a more delicious fragrance than I had ever met with at any of the other islands visited by us in this ocean. The habitations of the natives were thinly scattered about, and it was supposed there could not be more than 500 people upon the island, as the greater part were seen at the marketing-place of our party, and few found about the houses by those who walked up the country. Our people who had been obliged to remain on shore had an

opportunity of observing the method of living amongst the natives, and it appeared to be decent and cleanly. They did not, however, see any instances of the men and women eating together, and the latter seemed generally associated together in companies. It was found that they used the oily nuts of the "dooe dooe," which are stuck upon a kind of skewer and burnt as candles, and that they baked their hogs in ovens, as at Otaheite. They also met with a positive proof of the existence of the taboo (or, as they pronounce it, tafoo), for one woman fed another who was under that interdiction. They also observed some mysterious ceremonies.

After the water-casks had been filled and conveyed into the boats, and we had purchased from the natives a few roots, a little salt, and some salted fish, I returned on board with all the people, and on the 2nd of February we stood away to the northward, in prosecution of our voyage. Thus, after spending more time about these islands than was necessary for all our purposes, we were obliged to leave them before we had completed our water. Our ship procured from them provisions sufficient to last for three weeks at least. And Captain Clerke, more fortunate than us, got a supply of vegetables that lasted his people upwards of two months.

It is worthy of observation that the islands in the Pacific Ocean which these voyages have added to the geography of the globe, have been generally found lying in groups or clusters, the single intermediate islands as yet discovered being few in proportion to the others, though, probably, there are many more of them still unknown, which serve as steps between the several clusters. Of what number this newly-discovered archipelago consists, must be left to future investigation. We saw five of them, whose names, as given to us by the natives, are Woahoo, Atooi, Oneeheow, Oreehoua, and Tahoorā. I named the group the Sandwich Islands, in honour of the Earl of Sandwich. Atooi, which is the largest of these islands, is at least ten leagues in length from east to west.

The inhabitants are vigorous, active, and most expert swimmers; leaving their canoes upon the most trifling occasion, they dive under them and swim to others, though at

a great distance. It was very amusing to see women with infants at the breast, when the surf was so high that they could not land in the canoes, leap overboard and, without endangering their little ones, swim to the shore, through a heavy sea.

They seem to be blessed with a frank, cheerful disposition, and to live very sociably in their intercourse with one another, and, except the propensity to thieving, which seems innate in most of the people we have visited in this ocean, they were exceedingly friendly to us, and on all occasions appeared deeply impressed with a consciousness of their own inferiority. It was a pleasure to see with how much affection the women managed their infants, and how readily the men lent their assistance to such a tender office ; thus sufficiently distinguishing themselves from those savages who esteem a wife and child as things rather necessary than desirable, or worthy of their notice.

The hair in both sexes is cut in different forms, and the general fashion, especially among the women, is to have it long before, and short behind. The men often had it cut or shaved on each side, in such a manner that the remaining part in some measure resembled the crest of their caps or helmets, formerly described. Both sexes, however, seem very careless about their hair, and have nothing like combs to dress it with. Instances of wearing it in a singular manner were sometimes met with among the men, who twist it into a number of separate parcels, like the tails of a wig, each about the thickness of a finger, though the greater part of these, which are so long that they reach far down the back, were artificially fixed upon the head over their own hair. Both sexes adorn themselves with necklaces made of bunches of small black cord, or many strings of very small shells, or of the dried flowers of the Indian mallow ; and sometimes a small human image of bone, about three inches long, neatly polished, is hung round the neck. The women also wear bracelets of a single shell, pieces of black wood, with bits of ivory interspersed, well polished, and fixed by a string drawn very closely through them ;

or others, of hogs' teeth laid parallel to each other, with the concave side outward and the points cut off, fastened together as the former, some of which, made only of large boars' tusks, being very elegant. The men sometimes wear plumes of the tropic-bird's feathers stuck in their heads ; or those of cocks, fastened round neat polished sticks two feet long, commonly decorated at the lower part with oora ; and for the same purpose the skin of a white dog's tail is sewed over a stick with its tuft at the end. They also frequently wear on the head a kind of ornament of a finger's thickness or more, covered with red and yellow feathers, curiously varied and tied behind, and on the arm above the elbow, a kind of broad shell-work grounded upon net-work.

Though they seem to have adopted the mode of living in villages, there is no proportion as to the size of their houses, some being large and commodious, from forty to fifty feet long, and from twenty to thirty broad, while others of them are mere hovels. The entrance is made indifferently at the end or side, and is an oblong hole, so low that one must rather creep than walk in, and is often shut up by a board of planks fastened together, which serves as a door ; no light enters the house but at this opening, and though such close habitations may afford a comfortable retreat in bad weather, they seem but ill-adapted to the warmth of the climate. They are, however, kept remarkably clean, and their floors are covered with a large quantity of dried grass, over which they spread mats to sit and sleep upon. At one end stands a bench about three feet high, on which their household utensils are placed. These consist of gourd-shells, which they convert into vessels that serve as bottles to hold water, and as baskets to contain their victuals and other things, with covers of the same, and a few wooden bowls and trenchers of different sizes.

The only musical instruments which we observed here were of an exceedingly rude kind. One of them does not produce a more melodious sound than a child's rattle ; it consists of what may be called a conic cap inverted, but scarcely hollowed at the base, above a foot high, made of a coarse

sedge-like plant, the upper part of which, and the edges, are ornamented with beautiful red feathers, and to the point or lower part is fixed a gourd-shell larger than the fist. Into this is put something to rattle, which is done by holding the instrument by the small part, and shaking or rather moving it from place to place briskly, either to different sides or backward or forward just before the face, striking the breast with the other hand at the same time. The other musical instrument (if either of them deserve the name) was a hollow vessel of wood, like a platter, combined with the use of the sticks, on which one of our gentlemen saw a man performing. He held one of the sticks, about two feet long, as we do a fiddle, with one hand, and struck it with the other, which was smaller, and resembled a drum-stick, in a quicker or slower measure ; at the same time beating with his foot upon the hollow vessel that lay inverted upon the ground, and thus producing a tune that was by no means disagreeable. The music was accompanied by the vocal performance of some women, whose song had a pleasing and tender effect.

In everything manufactured by these people, there appears to be an uncommon degree of neatness and ingenuity. Cloth is the principal manufacture, and they fabricate a great many white mats, with red stripes and other figures interwoven on one side.

They stain their gourd-shells prettily with undulated lines, triangles, and other figures of a black colour, and they seem to possess the art of varnishing, for some of these stained gourd-shells are covered with a kind of lacquer, and they use a strong size or gluey substance to fasten their things together. Their wooden dishes or bowls, out of which they drink their *ava*, are as neat as if made in our turnery lathe, and perhaps better polished, and amongst their articles of handicraft may be reckoned small square fans of mat or wicker-work, with handles tapering from them of the same, or of wood, which are neatly wrought with small cords of hair, and fibres of the cocoa-nut coir intermixed. The great variety of fishing-hooks are ingeniously made, some of bone, others of wood pointed with bone, and many of pearl shells. The bones are

mostly small, and composed of two pieces, and all the different sorts have a barb, either on the inside like ours, or on the outside opposite the same part, but others have both, the outer one being farthest from the point. Of this last sort one was procured, nine inches long, of a single piece of bone, which doubtless belonged to some large fish. The elegant form and polish of this could not certainly be outdone by any European artist, even if he should add all his knowledge in design to the number and convenience of his tools. Their hatchets, or rather adzes, are either made of blackish stone, or of a clay-coloured one ; they have also little instruments made of a single shark's tooth, some of which are fixed to the fore-part of a dog's jaw-bone, and others to a thin wooden handle of the same shape, having at the other end a bit of string fastened through a small perforation.

Their canoes in general are about twenty-four feet long, and have the bottom, for the most part, formed of a single piece or log of wood, hollowed out to the thickness of an inch, or an inch and a half, and brought to a point at each end. The sides consist of three boards, each about an inch thick, and neatly fitted and lashed to the bottom part. The extremities, both at head and stern, are a little raised, and both are made sharp, somewhat like a wedge, but they flatten more abruptly, so that the two side-boards join each other, side by side, for more than a foot. As they are not more than fifteen or eighteen inches broad, those that go single (for they sometimes join them as at the other islands), have outriggers, which are shaped and fitted with more judgment than any I had before seen. They are rowed by paddles, such as we had generally met with, and some of them have a light triangular sail, like those of the Friendly Islands, extended to a mast and boom. The ropes used for their boats, and the smaller cord for their fishing-tackle, are strong and well made.

Though I did not see a chief of any note, there were, however, several, as the natives informed us, who reside upon Atooi, and to whom they prostrate themselves as a mark of submission. After I had left the island, one of these great

men made his appearance, and paid a visit to Captain Clerke on board the *Discovery*. He came off in a double canoe, and, like the king of the Friendly Islands, paid no regard to the small canoes that happened to lie in his way, but ran against or over them ; and it was not possible for these poor people to avoid him, for they could not manage their canoes, it being a necessary mark of their submission that they should lie down when he passed. His attendants helped him into the ship, and placed him in the gangway. Their care of him did not cease there, for they stood round him, holding each other by the hands, nor would they suffer anyone to come near him but Captain Clerke himself. He was a young man, clothed from head to foot, and was accompanied by a young woman, supposed to be his wife. Captain Clerke made him some suitable presents, and received from him in return a large bowl, supported by two figures of men, the carving of which, both as to the design and the execution, showed some degree of skill. Captain Clerke could not prevail upon this great man to go below, nor to move from the place where his attendants had first fixed him. After staying some time in the ship, he was carried again into his canoe, and returned to the island, receiving the same honours from all the natives as when he came on board. The next day several messages were sent to Captain Clerke, inviting him to return the visit ashore, and acquainting him that the chief had prepared a large present on that occasion. But, being anxious to get to sea and join the *Resolution*, he did not think it advisable to accept the invitation.

Besides their spears or lances, made of a fine chestnut-coloured wood, beautifully polished--some of which are barbed at one end and flattened to a point at the other—they had a sort of weapon which we had never seen before, and not mentioned by any navigator as used by the natives of the South Sea. It is somewhat like a dagger, in general about a foot and a half long, sharpened at one or both ends, and secured to the hand by a string. Its use is to stab in close fight, and it seems well adapted to the purpose. Some



of these may be called double daggers, having a handle in the middle, with which they are better enabled to strike different ways. They have also bows and arrows, but, both from their apparent security and their slender make, it may almost be presumed that they never use them in battle. The knife or saw formerly mentioned, with which they dissect the dead bodies, may also be ranked amongst their weapons, as they both strike and cut with it when closely engaged. It is a small flat wooden instrument, of an oblong shape, about a foot long, rounded at the corners, with a handle almost like one sort of the patoos of New Zealand, but its edges are entirely surrounded with sharks' teeth, strongly fixed to it, and pointing outward, having commonly a hole in the handle, through which passes a long string, which is wrapped several times round the wrist.

The people of Tongataboo inter their dead in a very decent manner; and they also inter their human sacrifices; but they do not offer or expose any other animal, or even vegetables, to their gods, as far as we know. Those of Otaheite do not inter their dead, but expose them to waste by time and putrefaction, though the bones are afterwards buried. The people of Atooi, again, inter both their common dead and human sacrifices, as at Tongataboo, but they resemble those at Otaheite in the slovenly state of their religious places, and in offering vegetables and animals to their gods.

If the Sandwich Islands had been discovered at an early period by the Spaniards, there is little doubt that they would have taken advantage of so excellent a situation, and have made use of Atooi, or some other of the islands, as a refreshing place to the ships that sail annually from Acapulco to Manilla, as they lie almost midway between the first place and Guam, one of the Ladrões, which is, at present, their only port in traversing this vast ocean. An acquaintance with the Sandwich Islands would have been equally favourable to our buccaneers, who used sometimes to pass from the coast of America to the Ladrões, with a stock of food and water scarcely sufficient to preserve life. Here they might have found plenty, and have been within a month's sail of

the very port of California which the Manilla ship is obliged to make, or else have returned to the coast of America, thoroughly refitted, after an absence of two months. How happy would Lord Anson have been, and what hardships would he have avoided, had he known that there was a group of islands half-way between America and Tinian, where all his wants could have been effectually supplied.

On the 2nd of February we stood away to the northward, and without meeting with anything memorable, on the 7th of March the long-looked-for coast of New Albion was seen, extending from north-east to south-east, distance ten or twelve leagues. The land appeared to be of moderate height, diversified with hills and valleys, and almost everywhere covered with wood.

After coasting along, and combating contrary winds, on the 29th we anchored in eighty-five fathoms of water, so near the shore as to reach it with a hawser. We no sooner drew near the inlet than we found the coast to be inhabited, and three canoes came off to the ship. In one of these were two men, in another six, and in the third ten. Having come pretty near us, a person in one of the two last stood up and made a long harangue, inviting us to land, as we guessed by his gestures ; at the same time he kept strewing handfuls of feathers towards us, and some of his companions threw handfuls of a red dust powder in the same manner. The person who played the orator wore the skin of some animal, and held, in each hand, something which rattled as he kept shaking it. After tiring himself with his repeated exhortations, of which we did not understand a word, he was quiet ; and the others took it up, by turns, to say something ; though they acted their part neither so long nor with so much vehemence as the other. We observed that two or three had their hair quite strewed over with small white feathers, and others had large ones stuck in different parts of the head. After the tumultuous noise had ceased, they lay at a little distance from the ship, and conversed with each other in a very easy manner ; nor did they seem to show the least surprise or distrust. Some of them now and

then got up, and said something after the manner of their first harangues ; and one sang a very agreeable air, with a degree of softness and melody that we could not have expected. The breeze, which soon after sprang up, bringing us nearer the shore, the canoes began to come off in greater numbers, and we had at one time thirty-two of them near the ship, carrying from three to seven or eight persons each, both men and women. Several of these stood up in their canoes, haranguing and making gestures, after the manner of our first visitors. One canoe was remarkable for a singular head, which had a bird's eye and bill of an enormous size painted on it ; and a person in it, who seemed to be a chief, was no less remarkable for his uncommon appearance, having many feathers hanging from his head, and being painted in an extraordinary manner. He held in his hand a carved bird, of wood, as large as a pigeon, with which he rattled, as the person first mentioned had done ; and was no less vociferous in his harangue, which was attended with some expressive gestures.

Though our visitors behaved very peaceably, and could not be suspected of any hostile intention, we could not prevail upon any of them to come on board. They showed great readiness, however, to part with anything they had, and took from us whatever we offered them in exchange, but were more desirous of iron than of any other of our articles of cominmerce, appearing to be perfectly acquainted with the use of that metal. Many of the canoes followed us to our anchoring-place, and a group of ten or a dozen of them remained alongside the *Resolution* most part of the night.

These circumstances gave us a reasonable ground of hope that we should find this a comfortable station to supply all our wants, and to make us forget the hardships and delays experienced during a constant succession of adverse winds and boisterous weather, almost ever since our arrival on the coast of America. After coming to an anchor on the following morning, I lost no time in endeavouring to find a commodious harbour, where we might station ourselves during our continuance in the Sound. Accordingly, I sent

three armed boats, under the command of Mr. King, and soon after I went myself in a small boat on the same search. I had very little trouble in finding what we wanted. On the north-west of the arm we were now in, I found a convenient snug cove, well suited to our purpose ; and that no time might be lost, I employed the remainder of the day in having the sails unbent, the top-mast struck, and the fore-mast of the *Resolution* unrigged, in order to effect a thorough refit.

A great many canoes, filled with the natives, were about the ship all day, and a trade commenced betwixt us and them, which was carried on with the strictest honesty on both sides. The articles which they offered for sale were skins of various animals, such as bears, wolves, foxes, deer, racoons, pole-cats, and martins, and, in particular, that of the sea-otter, which are found at the islands of Kamtschatka. Besides the undressed skins, they also brought garments made of them, and another sort of clothing made of the bark of a tree, or some plant like hemp ; weapons, such as bows, arrows, and spears ; fish-hooks, and instruments of various kinds ; wooden vizors of many different monstrous figures ; a sort of woollen stuff, or blanketing ; bags filled with red ochre ; pieces of carved work, beads, and several other little ornaments of thin brass and iron, shaped like a horse-shoe, which hung at their noses ; and several chisels, or pieces of iron fixed to handles. From their possessing such metal, we inferred that they had either been visited before by some civilised nation, or had connections with tribes on the continent, who had communication with them. But the most extraordinary of all the articles which they brought to the ships for sale, were human skulls and hands, not yet quite stripped of the flesh, which they made our people plainly to understand they had eaten ; and, indeed, some of them had evident marks that they had been upon the fire. For the various articles which they brought, they took in exchange knives, chisels, pieces of iron and tin, nails, looking-glasses, buttons, or any kind of metal. Glass beads they were not fond of, and cloth of every sort they rejected.

We employed the next day in hauling our ships into the

cove, where they were moored head and stern, fastening our hawsers to the trees on shore. On heaving up the anchor of the *Resolution* we found, notwithstanding the great depth of water in which it was let go, that there were rocks at the bottom. These had done some considerable damage to the cable, and the hawsers that were carried out to warp the ship into the cove also got foul of rocks, from which it appeared that the whole bottom was strewed with them. The ship being again very leaky in her upper works, I ordered the carpenter to caulk her, and to repair such other defects as on examination he might discover.

The fame of our arrival brought a great concourse of the natives to our ships in the course of this day. We counted above a hundred canoes at one time, which might be supposed to contain on an average five persons in each, for few of them had less than three on board, great numbers had seven, eight, or nine, and one was manned with no less than seventeen. Among these visitors many now favoured us with their company for the first time, which we could guess from their approaching the ships with their orations and other ceremonies. If they had any distrust or fear of us at first, they now appeared to have laid it aside, for they came on board and mixed with our people with the greatest freedom. We soon discovered by this nearer intercourse that they were as light-fingered as any of our friends in the islands we had visited in the course of the voyage; and they were far more dangerous thieves, for, possessing sharp iron instruments, they could cut a hook from a tackle, or any other piece of iron from a rope, as soon as our backs were turned. In this manner we lost a large hook weighing between twenty and thirty pounds, several smaller ones, and other articles of iron. As to our boats, they stripped them of every bit of iron that was worth carrying away, though we had always men left in them as a guard. They were dexterous enough in effecting their purpose, for one fellow would contrive to amuse the boat-keeper at one end of a boat while another was pulling out the iron-work at the other. If we missed a thing immediately after it had been

stolen, we found little difficulty in detecting the thief, as they were ready enough to impeach one another ; but the guilty person generally relinquished his prize with reluctance, and sometimes we found it necessary to have recourse to force.

The ships being securely moored, on the following day the observatories were carried ashore and placed upon an elevated rock on one side of the cove, close to the *Resolution*. A party of men, with an officer, was sent to cut wood and to clear a place for the convenience of watering ; others were employed to brew spruce-beer, as pine-trees abounded here. The forge was also set up, to make the iron-work wanting for the repairs of the fore-mast, for, besides one of the bibs\* being defective, the larboard trestle-tree and one of the cross-trees were sprung.

A considerable number of the natives visited us daily, and occasionally we saw new faces. On their first coming they generally went through a singular mode of introducing themselves. They would paddle, with all their strength, quite round both ships, a chief, or other principal person in the canoe, standing up with a spear or some other weapon in his hand, and speaking or hallooing all the time. Sometimes the orator of the canoe would have his face covered with a mask, representing either a human visage or that of some animal, and, instead of a weapon, would hold a rattle in his hand, as before described. After making this circuit round the ships, they would come alongside and begin to trade without further ceremony. Very often, indeed, they would first give us a song, in which all in the canoes joined, with a very pleasing harmony.

During these visits they gave us no other trouble than to guard against their thievish tricks. In the morning of the 4th we had a serious alarm. Our party on shore, who were employed in cutting wood and getting water, observed that

\* Bibs, or bibbs, are pieces of timber bolted to the "hounds" of a mast, to support the trestle-trees, which may be described as two strong bars of timber fixed horizontally fore and aft on each side of the lower masthead to support the top-mast, lower cross-trees, and top. The "hounds," called also "cheeks" with lower-masts, are projections at the mast-head which support the trestle trees.

the natives all around them were arming themselves in the best manner they could, those who were not possessed of proper weapons preparing sticks and collecting stones. On hearing this I thought it prudent to arm also, but, being determined to act upon the defensive, I ordered our workmen to retreat to the rock upon which we had placed our observatories, leaving the natives in quiet possession of the ground. These hostile preparations were not directed against us, but against a body of their own countrymen, who were coming to fight them; and our friends of the Sound, on observing our apprehensions, used their best endeavours to convince us that this was the case. We could see that they had people looking out on each point of the cove, and canoes frequently passed between them and the main body assembled near the ships. At length the adverse party, in about a dozen large canoes, appeared off the south point of the cove, when they stopped, and lay drawn up in a line of battle, a negotiation having commenced. Some people in canoes, in conducting the treaty, passed between the two parties, and there was some speaking on both sides. At length the difference, whatever it was, seemed to be compromised, but the strangers were not allowed to come alongside the ships, nor to have any trade or intercourse with us.

We resumed our work in the afternoon, and the next day rigged the fore-mast, the head of which being rather too small for the cap, the carpenter went to work to fix a piece on one side, to fill up the vacant space. In cutting into the mast-head for this purpose, and examining the state of it, both cheeks were found to be so rotten that there was no possibility of repairing them, and it became necessary to hoist the mast out and fix new cheeks upon it. It was evident that one of them had been defective at the first, and that the unsound part had been cut out and a piece put in, which had not only weakened the mast-head, but had, in a great measure, been the occasion of rotting every other part of both cheeks. Thus, when we were almost ready to put to sea, we had all our work to do over again; and, what was still more provoking, an additional repair was

to be completed ; but, as there was no remedy, we immediately set about it. It was fortunate for the voyage that these defects were discovered when we were in a place where the materials requisite were to be procured ; for amongst the drift-wood in the cove where the ships lay were some small seasoned trees, very fit for our purpose. One of these was pitched upon, and the carpenters began, without loss of time, to make out of it two new cheeks.

On the morning of the 7th we got the fore-mast out, and hauled it ashore, and the carpenters of the ships were set to work upon it. Some parts of the lower standing rigging having been found to be very much decayed, as we had time now to put them in order, while the carpenters were repairing the fore-mast, I ordered a new set of main-rigging to be fitted, and a more perfect set of fore-rigging to be selected out of the best parts of the old.

From the time of our putting into the Sound till now, the weather had been exceedingly fine, without either wind or rain, but on the morning of the 8th the wind freshened at south-east, attended with thick hazy weather and rain ; and, according to the old proverb, misfortunes seldom come singly. The mizzen was now the only mast on board the *Resolution* that remained rigged, with its top-mast up ; but the former was so defective that it could not support the latter during the violence of the squalls, but gave way at the head, under the rigging. About eight o'clock the gale abated, but the rain continued, with very little intermission, for several days ; and that the carpenters might be enabled to proceed in their labours while it prevailed, a tent was erected over the fore-mast, where they could work with some degree of convenience. The bad weather which now came on did not, however, hinder the natives from visiting us daily ; and they frequently brought us a tolerable supply of fish—either sardines, or what resembled them much, a small kind of bream, and sometimes small cod.

On the 11th, notwithstanding the rainy weather, the main-rigging was fixed and got overhead ; and on the following



day we were employed taking down the mizzen-mast, the head of which proved to be so rotten that it dropped off while in the slings. In the evening we were visited by a tribe of natives, whom we had never seen before, and who, in general, were better-looking people than most of our old friends, some of whom attended them. I prevailed upon these visitors to go down into the cabin for the first time, and observed that there was not a single object that fixed their attention for a moment, their countenances marking that they looked upon all our novelties with the utmost indifference: a few of them, however, showed a certain degree of curiosity.

In the afternoon of the next day I went into the woods with a party of our men, and cut down a tree for a mizzen-mast, which on the day following was brought to the place where the carpenters were employed upon the fore-mast. In the evening the wind increased to a very hard gale, with rain, which continued till eight o'clock the next morning, when it abated.

The fore-mast being by this time finished, we hauled it alongside, but the bad weather prevented our fitting it in till the afternoon. We set about rigging it with the greatest expedition, while the carpenters were going on with the mizzen-mast on shore. They had made very considerable progress in it on the 16th, when they discovered that it was sprung, or wounded, owing, probably, to some accident in cutting it down; so that all their labour was thrown away, and it became necessary to get another tree out of the woods, which employed all hands above half a day. During these various operations several of the natives, who were about the ship, looked on with an expressive silent surprise, which we did not expect from their general indifference and inattention.

On the 18th a party of strangers, in six or eight canoes, came into the cove, where they remained looking at us for some time, and then retired without coming alongside either ship. We supposed that our old friends, who were more numerous at this time about us than these new visitors, would not permit them to have any intercourse with us.

Nothing would go down with our visitors but metal, and brass had by this time supplanted iron, being so eagerly sought after that, before we left this place, hardly a bit of it was left in the ships, except what belonged to our necessary instruments. Whole suits of clothes were stripped of every button, bureaus of their furniture, and copper kettles, tin canisters, candlesticks, and the like, all went to wreck, so that our American friends here got a greater medley and variety of things from us than any other nation we had visited in the course of our voyage.

After a fortnight's bad weather, the 19th proving a fair day, we availed ourselves of it to get up the top-masts and yards, and to fix the rigging. Having now finished most of our heavy work, I set out the next morning to take a view of the Sound. I first went to the west point, where I found a large village, and before it a very snug harbour, in which was from four to nine fathoms of water over a bottom of fine sand. The people of this village, who were numerous, and to most of whom I was well known, received me very courteously, every one pressing me to go into his house, or rather his apartment, for several families live under the same roof. I did not decline the invitations; and my hospitable friends whom I visited spread a mat for me to sit down upon, and showed me every other mark of civility. In most of the houses were women at work, making dresses of the plant or bark before mentioned, which they executed exactly in the same manner that the New Zealanders manufacture their cloth. Others were occupied in opening sardines, a large quantity of which I had seen brought on shore from canoes, and divided, by measure, amongst several people, who carried them up to their houses, where the operation of curing by smoke-drying is performed. They hang them on small rods; at first about a foot from the fire; afterwards they remove them higher and higher, to make room for others, till the rods, on which the fish hang, reach the top of the house. When they are completely dried they are taken down and packed close in bales, which they cover with mats. Thus they are kept till wanted, and are not a

disagreeable article of food. Cod and other large fish are also cured in the same manner by them, though they sometimes dry them in the open air without fire.

From this village I proceeded up the west side of the Sound, and found the remains of a deserted village. The logs or framings of the houses were standing, but the boards that had composed their sides and roofs did not exist. Before this village were some large fishing weirs, composed of pieces of wicker-work, made of small rods, some closer than others, according to the fish intended to be caught in them. These pieces of wicker-work, some of whose superficies are at least twenty feet by twelve, are fixed up edgewise in the water, by strong poles or pickets that stand firm in the ground.

From this place I crossed over to the other, or east side of the Sound, and found, what I had before conjectured, that the land under which the ships lay was an island, and that there were many smaller ones lying scattered in the Sound, on the west side of it. Opposite the north end of our large island, upon the mainland, I observed a village, and there I landed. The inhabitants of it were not so polite as those of the other I had just visited, especially one surly chief, who would not let me enter their houses, following me wherever I went; and several times, by expressive signs, marking his impatience that I should be gone. I attempted in vain to soothe him by presents, but though he did not refuse them, they did not alter his behaviour. Some of the young women, better pleased with us than our inhospitable chief, dressed themselves expeditiously in their best apparel, and assembling in a body, welcomed us to their village by joining in a song, which was far from harsh or disagreeable.

The day being now far spent I proceeded to the ships, and on my arrival was informed that, while I was absent, the ships had been visited by some strangers, in two or three large canoes, who, by signs, made our people to understand that they came from the south-east, beyond the bay. They brought several skins, garments, and other articles, which they bartered; but what was most singular, two silver table-

spoons were purchased from them, which, from their peculiar shape, were judged to be of Spanish manufacture. One of these strangers wore them round his neck, by way of ornament. These visitors also appeared to be more plentifully supplied with iron than the inhabitants of the Sound.

On the 22nd, about eight o'clock, we were visited by a number of strangers, in twelve or fourteen canoes. They drew up in a body, and stopped above half an hour, about 200 or 300 yards from the ships, and after this introductory ceremony, advanced towards the ships standing up in their canoes and singing; some of the songs, in which the whole body joined, were in a slow, and others in quicker time, and they accompanied their notes with the most regular motions of their hands, or beating in concert with their paddles on the sides of the canoes, and making other very expressive gestures. At the end of each song, they remained silent a few seconds, and then began again, and at length, after entertaining us with this specimen of their music, which we listened to with admiration for above half an hour, they came alongside the ships, and bartered what they had to dispose of.

The inhabitants received us with the same demonstration of friendship which I had experienced before; and the moment we landed I ordered some of our people to begin their operations of cutting grass for our few remaining sheep and goats.

When we had completed all our operations at this village, the natives and we parted very good friends, and we got back to the ships in the afternoon. The three following days we were employed in getting ready to put to sea; the sails were bent, the observatories and instruments, brewing vessels, and other things, were moved from the shore; some small spars for different uses, and pieces of timber, which might be occasionally sawn into boards, were prepared and taken on board, and both ships were cleared and put into a sailing condition.

Everything being now ready, at noon of the 26th we cast off the moorings, and with our boats towed the ships out of

the cove ; after this, we had variable light airs and calms, till four in the afternoon, when a breeze sprung up northerly, with very thick, hazy weather. The mercury in the barometer fell unusually low, and we had every other forerunner of an approaching storm, which we had reason to expect would be from the southward. This made me hesitate a little, as night was at hand, whether I should venture to sail, or wait till the next morning. But my anxious impatience to proceed upon the voyage, and the fear of losing this opportunity of getting out of the Sound, making a greater impression on my mind than any apprehension of immediate danger, I determined to put to sea at all events.

Our friends the natives attended us till we were almost out of the Sound, some on board the ships, and others in their canoes. One of the chiefs, who had some time before attached himself to me, was among the last who left us ; and, having received from him a handsome beaver-skin cloak which he then wore, in return for some presents, I gave him a new broadsword with a brass hilt, the possession of which made him completely happy.

The common dress of the inhabitants of Nootka is a flaxen garment, or mantle, ornamented on the upper edge by a narrow strip of fur, and at the lower edge by fringes or tassels. It passes under the left arm, and is tied over the right shoulder by a string before and one behind near its middle, by which means both arms are left free ; and it hangs evenly, covering the left side, but leaving the right open, unless when the mantle is fastened by a girdle of coarse matting or wool round the waist, which is often done. Over this, which reaches below the knees, is worn a small cloak of the same substance, likewise fringed at the lower part. In shape this resembles a round dish-cover, being quite close, except in the middle, where there is a hole just large enough to admit the head ; and then, resting upon the shoulders, it covers the arms to the elbows, and the body as far as the waist. Their head is covered with a cap, of the figure of a truncated cone, or like a flower-pot, made of fine matting, having the top frequently ornamented with a round

or pointed knob, or bunch of leathern tassels ; and there is a string that passes under the chin, to prevent its blowing off. Besides the above dress, which is common to both sexes, the men frequently throw over their other garments the skin of a bear, wolf, or sea-otter, with the hair outward, and tie it as a cloak near the upper part, wearing it sometimes before and sometimes behind. In rainy weather they throw a coarse mat about their shoulders. They have also woollen garments, which, however, are little in use. The hair is commonly worn hanging down loose ; but some, when they have no cap, tie it in a bunch on the crown of the head. Their dress, upon the whole, is convenient, and would not be inelegant were it kept clean. But as they rub their bodies constantly over with a red paint, mixed with oil, their garments by this means contract a rancid, offensive smell and a greasy nastiness, so that they make a very wretched, dirty appearance.

The ears of many of them are perforated in the lobe, where they make a pretty large hole, and two others higher up on the outer edge. In these holes they hang bits of bone, quills fixed upon a leathern thong, small shells, bunches of woollen tassels, or pieces of thin copper, which our beads could never supplant. The septum of the nose on many is also perforated, through which they draw a piece of soft cord ; and some wear at the same place small thin pieces of iron, brass, or copper, shaped almost like a horse-shoe, the narrow opening of which receives the septum, so that the two points may gently pinch it and the ornament that hangs over the upper lip. The rings of our brass buttons, which they eagerly purchased, were appropriated to this use. About their wrists they wear bracelets or bunches of white bugle beads, made of a conic shelly substance, bunches of thongs, with tassels, or a black, shiny, horny substance, of one piece ; and about their ankles they frequently wear many folds of leathern thongs, or the sinews of animals twisted to a considerable thickness. On extraordinary occasions they wear carved wooden masks or visors, applied on the face or on the upper part of the head

or forehead. Some of these resemble human faces, furnished with hair, beards, and eyebrows; the others the heads of birds, particularly of eagles; and many the heads of land and sea animals, such as deer, wolves, porpoises, and others. But, in general, these representations much exceed the natural size, and they are painted and often strewed with pieces of the foliaceous mica, which makes them glitter and serves to augment their enormous deformity. They even fix in the same part of the head large pieces of carved work, resembling the prow of a canoe, painted in the same manner, and projecting to a considerable distance. So fond are they of these disguises, that I have seen one of them put his head into a tin kettle he had got from us, for want of another sort of mask. Whether they use these extravagant masquerade ornaments on any particular religious occasion or diversions, or whether they be put on to intimidate their enemies when they go to battle, by their monstrous appearance, or as decoys when they go to hunt animals, is uncertain.

The only dress amongst the people of Nootka observed by us that seemed peculiarly adapted to war, is a thick leathern mantle, doubled, which from its size appears to be the tanned skin of an elk or buffalo. This they fasten on in the common manner, and it is so contrived that it may reach up and cover the breast quite to the throat, falling at the same time almost to the heels. It is sometimes ingeniously painted in different compartments, and is not only sufficiently strong to resist arrows, but, as they informed us by signs, even spears cannot pierce it. Upon the same occasions they sometimes wear a kind of leathern cloak, covered with rows of dried hoofs of deer, disposed horizontally, appended by leathern thongs, covered with quills, which, when they move, make a loud rattling noise, almost equal to that of many small bells.

The only instruments of music, if such they may be called, which I saw amongst them, were a rattle and a small whistle, about an inch long, incapable of variation from having but one hole. The rattles are, for the most part, made in the shape of a bird, with a few pebbles in the belly, and the tail

is the handle. They have others, however, which bear more resemblance to a child's rattle.

The houses are built of very long and broad planks, resting upon the edges of each other, fastened or tied with withes of pine-bark here and there, and have only slender posts, or rather poles, at considerable distances, on the outside, to which they are also tied, but within are some larger poles placed aslant. The height of the sides and ends of these habitations is seven or eight feet, but the back part is a little higher, by which means the planks that compose the roof slant forward, and are laid on loose, so as to be moved about either to let in the light or carry out the smoke. They are, however, upon the whole, miserable dwellings, and constructed with little care or ingenuity. There are no regular doors into them, the only way of entrance being either by a hole, or, in some cases, the planks are made to overlap about two feet asunder, and the entrance is in this space. There are also holes or windows in the sides of the houses to look out at, but without any regularity of shape or disposition. On the inside, one may frequently see from one end to the other of these ranges of building without interruption. Close to the sides is a little bench of boards, raised five or six inches higher than the rest of the floor, and covered with mats, on which the family sit and sleep. These benches are commonly seven or eight feet long, and four or five broad. In the middle of the floor, between them, is the fireplace, which has neither hearth nor chimney. In one house, which was in the end of a middle range, almost quite separated from the rest by a high, close partition, and the most regular as to design of any that I saw there, were four of these benches, each of which held a single family at a corner, but without any separation by boards, and the middle part of the house appeared common to them all.

Their furniture consists chiefly of a great number of chests and boxes of all sizes, which are generally piled upon each other, close to the sides or ends of the house, and contain their spare garments, skins, masks, and other things which they set a value upon. Their other domestic utensils are mostly



square and oblong pails or baskets to hold water or other things; round wooden cups or bowls, small shallow wooden troughs, about two feet long, out of which they eat their food, baskets of twigs, and bags of matting. Their fishing implements, and other things, also lie or hang up in different parts of the house, but without the least order, so that the whole is a complete scene of confusion; and the only places that do not partake of this confusion are the sleeping benches, which have nothing on them but the mats. Their houses are as filthy as hog-sties, everything in and about them stinking of fish, train-oil, and smoke. But, amidst all the filth and confusion, many of them are decorated with images. These are nothing more than the trunks of very large trees, four or five feet high, set up singly or by pairs, at the upper end of the apartment, with the front carved into a human face, and the arms and hands cut out upon the sides, and variously painted, so that the whole is a truly monstrous figure. The general name of these images is Klumma, and the names of two particular ones, which stood abreast of each other, three or four feet asunder in one of the houses, were Natchkoa and Matseeta. A mat, by way of curtain, for the most part hung before them, which the natives were not willing at all times to remove, and when they did unveil them, they seemed to speak of them in a very mysterious manner.

Naturally we thought they were representatives of their gods, or symbols of some religious or superstitious object, and yet we had proofs of the little estimation they were held in, for with a small quantity of iron or brass I could have purchased all the gods (if their images were such) in the place. I did not see one that was not offered to me, and I actually got two or three of the very smallest sort.

The chief employment of the men seems to be that of fishing and killing land or sea animals, for the sustenance of their families, for we saw few of them doing anything in the houses, whereas the women were occupied in manufacturing their flaxen or woollen garments, and in preparing the sardines for drying. The women are also sent in the small canoes to

gather muscles, and other shell-fish, and perhaps on some other occasions, for they manage these with as much dexterity as the men.

Their weapons are bows and arrows, slings, spears, short truncheons of bone, something like the patoo-patoo of New Zealand, and a small pickaxe, not unlike the common American tomahawk. The spear has generally a long point made of bone ; some of the arrows are pointed with iron, but most commonly these points were of indented bone. The tomahawk is a stone, six or eight inches long, pointed at one end, and the other end fixed into a handle of wood. This handle resembles the head and neck of the human figure, and the stone is fixed in the mouth so as to represent an enormously large tongue. To make the resemblance still stronger, human hair is also fixed to it. They have another stone weapon, nine inches or a foot long, with a square point. From the number of these and other weapons we might almost conclude that it is their custom to engage in close fight ; and we had, too, convincing proofs that their wars were both frequent and bloody, from the vast number of human skulls which they brought to sell.

Their canoes are of a simple structure, but to appearance well calculated for every useful purpose. Even the largest, which carry twenty people or more, are formed of one tree, and many of them are forty feet long, seven broad, and three deep. From the middle, towards each end, they become gradually narrower, the after-part or stern ending abruptly or perpendicularly, with a small knob on the top ; but the fore-part is lengthened out, stretching forward and upward, ending in a notched point or prow considerably higher than the sides of the canoe, which run nearly in a straight line. For the most part they are without any ornament, but some have a little carving and are decorated by setting seals' teeth on the surface like studs, as is the practice on their masks and weapons. They have no seats, but only several round sticks, little thicker than a cane, placed across at mid-depth. They are very light, and their breadth and flatness enable them to swim firmly, without an outrigger—a remarkable distinction

between the craft of all the American nations and that of the Southern Pacific Ocean. Their paddles are small and light, the shape in some measure resembling that of a large leaf, pointed at the bottom, broadest in the middle, and gradually losing itself in the shaft; the whole being about five feet long.

Their implements for fishing and hunting, which are both ingeniously contrived and well made, are nets, hooks, lines, harpoons, and an instrument like an oar. This last is about twenty feet long, four or five inches broad, and about half an inch thick. Each edge, for about two-thirds of its length—the other third being its handle—is set with sharp bone-teeth about two inches long. Herrings and sardines, and such other small fish as come in shoals, are attacked with this instrument, which is struck into the shoal, and the fish are caught either upon or between the teeth. Their hooks are made of bone and wood, and rather inartistically; but the harpoon, with which they strike the whale and lesser sea animals, shows much contrivance. It is composed of a piece of bone, cut into two barbs, in which is fixed the oval blade of a large muscle-shell, having the point of the instrument, to which is fastened about two or three fathoms of rope. To throw this harpoon they use a shaft of about twelve or fifteen feet long, to which the harpoon is fixed, so as to separate from the shaft and leave it floating on the water as a buoy when the animal darts away with the harpoon.

They sometimes decoy animals by covering themselves with a skin, and running about on all-fours, which they do very nimbly, as appeared from the specimens of their skill which they exhibited to us—making a kind of noise or neighing at the same time; and on these occasions the masks, or carved heads, as well as the real dried heads of the different animals, are put on. As to the materials of which they make their various articles, it is to be observed that everything of the rope kind is formed either from thongs of skins and sinews of animals, or from the same flaxen substance of which their mantles are manufactured. The

sinews often appeared to be of such a length that it might be presumed they could be of no other animal than the whale; and the same may be said of the bones of which they made their weapons, already mentioned, such as their bark-beating instruments, the points of their spears, and barbs of their harpoons.

The chisel and the knife are the only forms, as far as we saw, that iron assumes amongst them. The chisel is a long flat piece, fitted into a handle of wood; a stone serves for a mallet, and a piece of fish-skin for a polisher. I have seen some of these chisels that were eight or ten inches long, and three or four inches broad; but, in general, they were smaller. The knives are of various sizes, and their blades are crooked, somewhat like our pruning-knife, but the edge is on the back or convex part. Most of them that we saw were about the breadth and thickness of an iron hoop. They sharpen these tools upon a coarse slate whetstone, and likewise keep the whole instrument constantly bright.

They expressed no marks of surprise at seeing our ships; nor were they even startled at the report of a musket, till one day, upon their endeavouring to make us sensible that their arrows and spears could not penetrate the hide-dresses, one of our gentlemen shot a musket-ball through one of them, folded six times, which greatly staggered them.

Some account of a Spanish voyage to this coast in 1774, or 1775, had reached England before I sailed, but the foregoing circumstances sufficiently prove that these ships had not been at Nootka.\*

We were hardly out of the Sound, on the evening of the 26th, before the wind suddenly shifted, and increased to a strong gale, with squalls and rain, with so dark a sky that we could not see the length of the ship. Being apprehensive, from the experience I had since our arrival on this coast, of the wind veering more to the south, which would put us in

\* We now know that Captain Cook's conjecture was well founded. It appears from the journal of this voyage here referred to, that the Spaniards had intercourse with the natives of this coast only in three places, which were not within two degrees of Nootka; and it is most probable that the people there never heard of these Spanish ships.

danger of a lee-shore, we got the tacks on board, and stretched off to the south-west under all the sail the ships would bear. At daylight the next morning we were quite clear of the coast, and the *Discovery* being at some distance astern, I brought to till she came up, and then bore away, steering north-west, in which direction I supposed the coast to lie. At half-past one in the afternoon it blew a perfect hurricane, so that I judged it highly dangerous to run any longer before it, and therefore brought the ships to, with their heads to the southward, under the foresails and mizzen-staysails. At this time the *Resolution* sprung a leak, which at first alarmed us not a little, as from the bread-room we could both hear and see the water rush in, and, as we then thought, it was two feet under water. But in this we were happily mistaken, for it was afterwards found to be even with the water-line, if not above it, when the ship was upright. It was no sooner discovered than the fish-room was also found to be full of water, and the casks in it afloat, but this was in a great measure owing to the water not finding its way to the pumps through the coals that lay in the bottom of the room; for, after the water was baled out (which employed us till midnight), and had found its way directly from the leaks to the pumps, it appeared that one pump kept it under, which gave us no small satisfaction. In the evening, the wind veered to the south, and its fury in some degree ceased; on this, we set the mainsail and two topsails, close-reefed, and stretched to the westward. But at eleven o'clock the gale again increased, and obliged us to take in the topsails, till five o'clock the next morning, when the storm began to abate, so that we could bear to set them again.

At seven in the evening, on the 1st of May, we got sight of land, which abounds with hills, but one considerably outtops the rest; this I called Mount Edgecumbe. On the 3rd we saw a large inlet, distant six leagues, and the most advanced point of the land lying under a very high peaked mountain, which obtained the name of Mount Fair Weather. The inlet was named Cross Sound, being first seen on the day so marked in our calendar. From the 4th to the 10th

nothing very interesting occurred. On the 10th we found ourselves no more than three leagues from the coast of the continent, which extended as far as the eye could reach. To the westward of this last direction was an island that extended from north to south, distant six leagues. A point shoots out from the main toward the north-east end of the island, about five or six leagues distant ; this point I named Cape Suckling.

On the 11th, I bore up for the island. At ten o'clock in the morning I went in a boat, and landed upon it, with a view of seeing what lay on the other side, but finding it farther to the hills than I expected, and the way being steep and woody, I was obliged to drop the design. At the foot of a tree, on a little eminence not far from the shore, I left a bottle with a paper in it, on which were inscribed the names of the ships and the date of our discovery ; and along with it I enclosed two silver twopenny pieces of his Majesty's coin of the date of 1772. These, with many others, were furnished me by the Rev. Dr. Kaye (now Dean of Lincoln), and as a mark of my esteem and regard for that gentleman, I named the island after him, Kaye's Island ; it is eleven or twelve leagues in length, but its breadth is not above a league and a half in any part of it. On this island there are a considerable number of pines, and the whole seems covered with a broad girdle of wood.

We were now threatened with a fog and a storm, and I wanted to get into some place to stop the leak before we encountered another gale. These reasons induced me to steer for an inlet, which we had no sooner reached than the weather became so foggy that we could not see a mile before us, and it became necessary to secure the ships in some place, and wait for a clearer sky. With this view I hauled close under a cape, which I now called Cape Hinchinbroke, and anchored before a small cove, a little within the cape, and about a quarter of a mile from the shore. At some short intervals the fog cleared away, and gave us a sight of the land. Between the westernmost point of the shore under which we were at anchor is a bay about three leagues deep,

on the south-east side of which there are two or three coves, such as that in which we had anchored before, and in the middle some rocky islands.

To these islands Mr. Gore was sent in a boat, in hopes of shooting some eatable birds. But he had hardly got to them before about twenty natives made their appearance, in two large canoes, on which he thought proper to return to the ships, and they followed him. They would not venture alongside, but kept at some distance, hallooing aloud, and alternately clasping and extending their arms, and in a short time began a kind of song exactly after the manner of those at Nootka. Their heads were also powdered with feathers. One man held out a white garment, which we interpreted as a sign of friendship; and another stood up in the canoe quite naked, for almost a quarter of an hour, with his arms stretched out like a cross, and motionless. The canoes were not constructed of wood, as at King George's or Nootka Sound; the frame only, being slender laths, was of that substance, the outside consisting of the skins of seals or of such-like animals. Though we returned all their signs of friendship, and by every expressive gesture tried to encourage them to come alongside, we could not prevail. After receiving some presents which were thrown to them, they retired to that part of the shore from whence they came, giving us to understand by signs that they would visit us again.

At ten o'clock the next morning the wind became more moderate; and, the weather being somewhat clearer, we got under weigh, in order to look out for some snug place where we might search for and stop the leak, our present station being too much exposed for this purpose.

The natives who visited us the preceding evening, came off again in the morning, in five or six canoes, but not till we were under sail; and although they followed us for some time, they could not get up with us. Before two in the afternoon the bad weather returned again, with so thick a haze that we could see no other land besides the point just mentioned, which we reached at half-past four, and found it

to be a small island, lying about two miles from the adjacent coast, being a point of land, on the east side of which we discovered a fine bay, or rather harbour. To this we worked up, under reefed topsails and courses. At length, at eight o'clock, the violence of the squalls obliged us to anchor in thirteen fathoms, before we had got as far into the bay as I intended ; but we thought ourselves fortunate that we had already sufficiently secured ourselves at this hour, for the night was exceedingly stormy. The weather, bad as it was, did not hinder three of the natives from paying us a visit. They came off in two canoes—two men in one and one in the other, being the number each could carry, for they were built and constructed in the same manner as those of the Esquimaux, only in the one were two holes for two men to sit in, and in the other but one. Each of these men had a stick, about three feet long, with the large feathers or wing of birds tied to it. These they frequently held up to us, with a view, as we guessed, to express their pacific disposition.

The treatment these men met with induced many more to visit us, between one and two the next morning, in both great and small canoes. Some ventured on board the ship, but not till some of our people had stepped into their boats. Amongst those who came on board was a good-looking, middle-aged man, whom we afterwards found to be the chief. He was clothed in a dress made of the sea-otter's skin, and had on his head a similar cap to that worn by the people of King George's Sound, ornamented with sky-blue glass beads about the size of a large pea. He seemed to set a much higher value upon these than upon our white glass beads ; any sort of beads, however, appeared to be in very high estimation with these people, and they most readily gave whatever they had in exchange for them, even their fine sea-otter skins.

I could not prevail upon the chief to trust himself below the upper deck, nor did he and his companions remain long on board. But while we had their company it was necessary to watch them narrowly, as they soon betrayed a thievish disposition. At length, after being about three or four hours



alongside the *Resolution*, they all left her and went to the *Discovery*, none having been there before, except one man, who at this time came from her, and immediately returned thither in company with the rest. When I observed this, I thought this man had seen something there which he knew would please his countrymen better than what they met with in our ship. But in this I was mistaken, as will soon appear.

As soon as they were gone I sent a boat to sound the head of the bay, for, as the wind was moderate, I had thoughts of laying the ship ashore if a convenient place could be found where I might begin our operations to stop the leak. It was not long before all the Americans left the *Discovery*, and, instead of returning to us, made their way towards our boat employed as above. The officer in her seeing this, returned to the ship, and was followed by all the canoes. The boat's crew had no sooner come on board, leaving in her two of their number by way of a guard, than some of the Americans stepped into her. Some presented their spears before the two men, others cast loose the rope which fastened her to the ship, and the rest attempted to tow her away. But the instant they saw us preparing to oppose them they let her go, stepped out of her into their canoes, and made signs to us to lay down our arms, being apparently as perfectly unconcerned as if they had done nothing amiss. This, though rather a more daring attempt, was hardly equal to what they had meditated on board the *Discovery*. The man who came and carried all his countrymen from the *Resolution* to the other ship had first been on board of her, where, after looking down the hatchways and seeing nobody but the officers of the watch and one or two more, he, no doubt, thought they might plunder her with ease, especially as she lay at some distance from us. It was unquestionably with this view that they all repaired to her. Several of them, without any ceremony, went on board, drew their knives, made signs to the officers and people on deck to keep off, and began to look about for plunder. The first thing they met with was the rudder of one of the boats, which they threw overboard to those of the party who had remained in

their canoes. Before they had time to find another object that pleased their fancy, the crew were alarmed, and began to come upon deck armed with cutlasses. On seeing this, the whole company of plunderers sneaked off into their canoes, and they were observed describing to those who had not been on board how much longer the knives of the ship's crew were than their own.

Just as we were going to weigh the anchor, to proceed farther up the bay, it began to blow and rain as hard as before, so that we were obliged to veer away the cable again and lay fast. Toward the evening, finding that the gale did not moderate, and that it might be some time before an opportunity offered of getting higher up, I came to a resolution to heel the ship where we were, and, with this view, moved her with a kedge-anchor and hawser. In heaving the anchor out of the boat, one of the seamen, either through ignorance or carelessness, or both, was carried overboard by the buoy-rope, and followed the anchor to the bottom. It is remarkable that in this very critical situation he had presence of mind to disengage himself and come up to the surface of the water, when he was taken up, with one of his legs fractured in a dangerous manner.

Early the next morning we gave the ship a good heel to port, in order to come at and stop the leak. On ripping off the sheathing it was found to be in the seams, which were very open, both in and under the wale, and in several places not a bit of oakum in them. While the carpenters were making good these defects we filled all our empty water-casks at a stream hard by the ship.

The leak being stopped and the sheathing made good over it, at four o'clock in the morning of the 17th we weighed, and steered to the north-westward, thinking, if there should be any passage to the north through this inlet, that it must be in that direction.

The wind having failed us about one o'clock, with the assistance of our boats we got to an anchor under the eastern shore, in thirteen fathoms of water, and about four leagues to the north of our last station. In the morning the weather

had been very hazy, but it afterwards cleared up, so as to give us a distinct view of all the land round us, particularly to the northward, where it seemed to close. This left us but little hopes of finding a passage that way, or indeed in any other direction, without putting out again to sea.

To enable me to form a better judgment, I despatched Mr. Gore, with two armed boats, to examine the northern arm, and the master, with two other boats, to examine another arm that seemed to take an easterly direction. Late in the evening they both returned; but their reports disagreeing, and the wind having become favourable for getting out to sea, I resolved to spend no more time in searching for a passage in a place that promised so little success.

Having taken my resolution, next morning at three o'clock we weighed, and, with a gentle breeze at north, proceeded southward down the inlet, into which another passage was now discovered to the south-west of that by which we had entered, which enabled us to shorten our way out to sea. It is separated from the other by an island, extending eighteen leagues in the direction of north-east and south-west, to which I gave the name of Montagu Island. In this south-west channel are several islands. Those that lie in the entrance next the open sea are high and rocky, but those within are low, and, being entirely free from snow, and covered with wood and verdure, we called them Green Islands. At eight o'clock in the evening, it being a dead calm, we anchored about two miles from the shore of Montagu's Island. The calm continued till ten o'clock the next morning, when, a breeze springing up, we weighed, and by six o'clock in the evening we were again in the open sea, and found the coast trending west by south as far as the eye could reach. To the inlet which we had now left I gave the name of Prince William's Sound.

The most uncommon and unsightly ornamental fashion adopted by some of both sexes of the people of this Sound is their having the under-lip slit or cut quite through in the direction of the mouth, a little below the swelling part. This incision, which is made even in the sucking children, is often

above two inches long, and either by its natural retraction, when the wound is fresh, or by the repetition of some artificial management, assumes the true shape of lips, and becomes so large as to admit the tongue through. This happened to be the case, when the first person having this incision was seen by one of the seamen, who called out that the man had two mouths ; and, indeed, it does not look unlike it. In this artificial mouth they stuck a flat, narrow ornament, made chiefly out of a solid shell or bone, cut into little narrow pieces, like small teeth, almost down to the base or thickest part, which has a small projecting bit at each end that supports it when put into the divided lip, the cut part then appearing outward ; others have the lower lip only perforated into separate holes, and then the ornament consists of as many distinct shelly studs, whose points are pushed through these holes, and their heads appear within the lip, as another row of teeth immediately under their own.

After leaving Prince William's Sound, I steered to the south-west, and passed a lofty promontory. As the discovery of it was connected with the Princess Elizabeth's birthday, I named it Cape Elizabeth. Beyond it we could see no land, so that at first we were in hopes that it was the western extremity of the continent ; but not long after we saw our mistake, for fresh land appeared in sight, bearing west-south-west.

The wind by this time had increased to a strong gale, and forced us a good distance from the coast. In the afternoon of the 22nd the gale abated, and we stood to the northward for Cape Elizabeth, which at noon the next day bore west, ten leagues distant. At the same time a new land was seen, bearing south,  $77^{\circ}$  West, which was supposed to connect Cape Elizabeth with the land we had seen to the westward.

The wind continued at west, and I stood to the southward till noon the next day, when we were within three leagues of the coast which we had discovered on the 22nd. At the same time more land was seen extending to the southward, the whole being twelve or fifteen leagues distant ; I concluded that it must be Cape St. Hermogenes. On its north-east side,

the coast turned towards the north-west, and appeared to be wholly unconnected with the land seen by us the preceding day. We were detained off the cape by variable light airs and calms till two o'clock the next morning, when a breeze springing up we soon found the land of Cape St. Hermogenes to be an island about six leagues in circuit, separated from the adjacent coast by a channel one league broad. A league and a half to the north of this island lie some rocks above water, on the north-east side of which we had twenty to thirty fathoms of water. The island of St. Hermogenes ended in a low point, which was called Point Banks. I steered for the land which was supposed to connect Cape Elizabeth with it, and on a nearer approach, found it to be a group of high islands and rocks entirely unconnected with any other land. They obtained the name of Barren Isles from their very naked appearance, and are situated in a line with Cape Elizabeth and Point Banks, three leagues distant from the former, and five from the latter.

I intended going through one of the channels that divide these islands, but meeting with a strong current setting against us I bore up, and beat to the leeward of them all. Towards the evening, the weather, which had been hazy all day, cleared up, and we got sight of a very lofty promontory, whose elevated summit, forming the exceeding high mountains, was seen above the clouds. This promontory I named Douglas, in honour of my very good friend Dr. Douglas, Canon of Windsor.

At daybreak the next morning, being the 26th, having got to the northward of the Barren Isles, we discovered more land, extending from Cape Douglas to the north. It formed a chain of mountains of vast height, one of which, far more conspicuous than the rest, was named Mount St. Augustin. The discovery of this land did not discourage us, as it was supposed to be wholly unconnected with the land of Cape Elizabeth, for in a north-north-east direction the sight was unlimited by everything but the horizon. We also thought that there was a passage to the north-west between Cape Douglas and Mount St. Augustin. In short, it was imagined

that the land on our larboard, to the north of Cape Douglas, was composed of a group of islands, disjoined by so many channels, any one of which we might make use of according as the wind should serve. With these flattering ideas, having a fresh gale at north-north-east, we stood to the north-west till eight o'clock, when we clearly saw that what we had taken for islands were summits of mountains, everywhere connected by lower land, which the haziness of the horizon had prevented us from seeing at a greater distance. This land was everywhere covered with snow, from the tops of the hills down to the very sea-beach, and had every other appearance of being part of a great continent. I was now fully persuaded that I should find no passage by this inlet, and my persevering in the search of it here was more to satisfy other people than to confirm my own opinion.

On the 28th, having but very little wind, I dropped a kedge-anchor with an eight-inch hawser bent to it; but, in bringing the ship up, the hawser parted near the inner end, and although we brought the ship up with one of the bowers, and spent most of the day in sweeping for the kedge, it was to no effect.

The weather being fair and tolerably clear, we saw land on each side, with a ridge of mountains rising one behind another, without the least separation. On the eastern shore we now saw two columns of smoke, a sure sign that there were inhabitants. Between one and two in the morning of the 30th we weighed, and worked up till near seven o'clock, when, the tide being done, we anchored in nineteen fathoms, under the same shore as before. About noon, two canoes, with a man in each, came off to the ship, from near the place where we had seen the smoke the preceding day. They laboured very hard in paddling across the stormy tide, and hesitated a little before they would come quite close; but upon signs being made to them they approached. One of them talked a great deal, but we did not understand a word he said. He kept pointing to the shore, which we interpreted to be an invitation to go thither. They accepted a few trifles from me, which I conveyed to them from the quarter gallery.

These men in every respect resembled the people we had met with in Prince William's Sound, as to their person and dress. Their canoes were also of the same construction. One of our visitors had his face painted jet black, and seemed to have no beard, but the other, who was more elderly, had no paint and a considerable beard.

When the flood made we weighed, and then the canoes left us. I stood over to the western shore, with a fresh gale at north-north-east, and fetched under the point above mentioned ; this, with the other on the opposite shore, contracted the channel to the breadth of four leagues. Through this channel ran a prodigious tide.

At eight in the evening we anchored under a point of land which bore north-east, three leagues distant, in fifteen fathoms of water. Here we lay during the ebb, which ran near five knots to the hour. We weighed with the next flood in the morning of the 31st, and about eight o'clock were visited by several of the natives, in one large and several small canoes. The latter carried only one person each, and some had a paddle with a blade at each end, after the manner of the Esquimaux ; in the large canoes were men, women, and children. Before they reached the ship, they displayed a leathern frock upon a long pole, as a sign apparently of their peaceable intentions. This frock they conveyed into the ship, in return for some trifles which I gave them. We procured from them some of their fur dresses, made of the skins of sea-otters, martins, hares, and other animals, a few of their darts, and a small supply of salmon and halibut. In exchange for these they took old clothes, beads, and pieces of iron. We found that they were in possession of large iron knives and sky-blue glass beads, which they seemed to value much, and consequently those which we now gave them. After spending about two hours between the one ship and the other, they all retired to the western shore.

At nine o'clock we came to an anchor in sixteen fathoms of water, about two leagues from the west shore ; the weather was misty, with drizzling rain, and clear by turns. At the

clear intervals we saw an opening between the mountains in the eastern shore, bearing east from the station of the ships, with low land, which we supposed to be islands lying between us and the mainland. Low land was also seen to the northward, which seemed to extend from the foot of the mountains on the one side to those on the other, and at low water we perceived large shoals stretching out from this low land, some of which were at no great distance from us. From these appearances we were in some doubt whether the inlet did not take an easterly direction, through the above opening, or whether that opening was only a branch of it, and the main channel continued its northern direction through the low land now in sight.

To determine this point and to examine the shoals I despatched the boats, under the command of the master, and, as soon as the flood-tide made, followed with the ships; but as it was a dead calm and the tide strong, I anchored, after driving about ten miles in an easterly direction. In the afternoon the natives, in several canoes, paid us a visit, and trafficked with our people for some time, without ever giving us reason to accuse them of any act of dishonesty.

At two o'clock on the following morning, the 1st of June, the master returned, and reported that he found the inlet, or rather river, contracted to the breadth of one league by low land on each side, through which it took a northerly direction. He proceeded three leagues through this narrow part, which he found navigable for the largest ships, being from seventeen to twenty fathoms deep. While the ebb or stream ran down, the water was perfectly fresh, but after the flood made it was brackish.

All hopes of finding a passage were now given up; but, as the ebb was almost spent, and we could not return against the flood, I thought I might as well take advantage of the latter to get a nearer view of the eastern branch, and by that means finally to determine whether the low land on the east side of the river was an island, as we had supposed, or not. With this purpose in view we weighed with the first of the flood, and stood over for the eastern shore, with boats ahead



sounding ; but, a contrary wind springing up, I despatched two boats, under the command of Lieutenant King, to examine the tides and to make such other observations as might give us some insight into the nature of the river.

At ten o'clock, finding the ebb begun, I anchored in nine fathoms of water, but, observing the tide to be too strong for the boats to make head against it, I made a signal for them to return on board before they had got half-way to the entrance of the river they were sent to examine, which was three leagues distant. The principal information gained by this tide's work was the determining that all the low land, which we had supposed to be an island or islands, was one track, from the banks of the great river to the foot of the mountains, which it joined, and that it terminated at the south entrance of this eastern branch, which I shall distinguish by the name of River Turnagain. On the north side of this river the low land again begins, and stretches out from the foot of the mountains down to the banks of the great river, so that before the river Turnagain it forms a large bay, on the south side of which we were now at anchor.

We had traced this river seventy leagues or more from its entrance without seeing the least appearance of its source.

If the discovery of this great river,\* which promises to vie with the most considerable ones already known to be capable of extensive inland navigation, should prove of use either to the present or to any future age, the time we spent in it ought to be the less regretted ; but to us, who had a much greater object in view, the delay thus occasioned was an essential loss. The season was advancing apace, we knew not how far we might have to proceed to the south, and we were now convinced that the continent of North America extended farther to the west than from the modern most reputable charts we had reason to expect. This made the existence of a passage into Baffin's or Hudson's Bay less

\* Captain Cook having here left a blank, which he had not filled up with any particular name, Lord Sandwich directed, with the greatest propriety, that it should be called Cook's River. This arm of the sea is now known as Cook's Inlet, and was further explored, in 1794, by Captain Vancouver.

probable, or at least showed it to be of greater extent. It was a satisfaction to me, however, to reflect that if I had not examined this very considerable inlet it would have been assumed by speculative fabricators of geography as a fact that it communicated with the sea to the north, or with Baffin's or Hudson's Bay to the east.

In the afternoon I sent Mr. King again with two armed boats, with orders to land on the northern point of the low land on the north-east side of the river; thence to display the flag and take possession of the country and river in his Majesty's name; and also to bury in the ground a bottle containing some pieces of English coin of the year 1772, and a paper, on which was inscribed the names of our ships and the date of our discovery. In the meantime, the ships were got under sail, in order to proceed down the river. The wind blew fresh easterly, but a calm ensued not long after we were under way, and the flood-tide meeting us off the point where Mr. King landed (and which thence got the name of Point Possession), we were obliged to drop anchor in six fathoms of water, with the point bearing south, two miles distant.

When Mr. King returned, he informed me that, as he approached the shore, about twenty of the natives made their appearance with their arms extended, probably to express their peaceable disposition and to show that they were without weapons. On Mr. King and the gentlemen with him landing with muskets in their hands, they seemed alarmed, and made signs expressive of their request to lay them down; this was accordingly done, and then they suffered the gentlemen to walk up to them, and appeared to be cheerful and sociable. They had with them a few pieces of fresh salmon and several dogs. Mr. Law, surgeon of the *Discovery*, who was one of the party, having bought one of the latter, took it down towards the boat, and shot it dead in their sight. This seemed to surprise them exceedingly, and, as if they did not think themselves safe in such company, they walked away; but it was soon after discovered that their spears and other weapons were hid in the bushes close behind them. We weighed anchor as soon as it was high

water, and stood over to the west shore, where the return of the flood obliged us to anchor early next morning. Soon after several large and some small canoes with natives came off, who first bartered their skins, and then sold their garments, till many of them were quite naked; amongst others, they brought a number of white hare or rabbit skins, and very beautiful reddish ones of foxes; but there were only two or three skins of otters. They also sold us some pieces of salmon and halibut, and preferred iron to everything else offered to them in exchange.

At half-past ten we weighed with the first of the ebb, and while working down the river, owing to the inattention and neglect of the man at the lead, the *Resolution* struck and stuck fast on a bank that lies nearly in the middle of the river, and about two miles above the two projecting bluff points before mentioned. As soon as the ship got aground I made a signal for the *Discovery* to anchor; she, as I afterwards understood, had been near ashore on the west side of the bank. As the flood-tide came in, the ship floated off soon after five o'clock in the afternoon, without receiving the least damage, or giving us any trouble, and after standing over to the west shore into deep water, we anchored to wait for the ebb, as the wind was still contrary. We weighed again with the ebb, at ten o'clock at night, and between four and five the next morning. When the tide was finished, we once more cast anchor about two miles below the bluff point on the west shore. Many of the natives came off, and attended upon us all the morning. Their company was very acceptable, for they brought with them a quantity of fine salmon, which they exchanged for such trifles as we had to give them. Most of it was split ready for drying, and several hundred-weight of it was procured for the two ships.

The wind remaining southerly, we continued to tide it down the river, and on the morning of the 5th, coming to the place where we had lost our kedge-anchor, made an attempt to recover it, but without success. Before we left this place, six canoes came off from the east shore, some

conducted by one, and others by two men. They remained at a little distance from the ships, viewing them with a kind of silent surprise, at least half an hour, without exchanging a single word with us, or with one another. At length they took courage and came alongside, when they began to barter with our people, and did not leave us till they had parted with everything they brought with them, consisting of a few skins and some salmon.

Early on the morning of the 20th some breakers were seen two miles distant, which forced us so far from the continent, that we had but a distant view of the coast. Over some adjoining islands we could see the main land covered with snow, but particularly some hills, whose elevated tops were seen towering above the clouds to a most stupendous height. The most south-westerly of these hills was discovered to have a volcano, which continually threw up vast columns of black smoke. It stands not far from the coast, and is also remarkable from its figure, which is a complete cone, having the volcano at the very summit. In the afternoon, having three hours' calm, our people caught upwards of a hundred halibuts, some of which weighed a hundred pounds; this was a very seasonable refreshment to us. While thus engaged, a small canoe, conducted by one man, came to us from the large island; on approaching the ship, he took off his cap and bowed. It was evident that the Russians must have communication and traffic with these people, not only from their acquired politeness, but from their possessing certain articles only used among civilised nations; thus our present visitor wore a pair of green cloth breeches, and a jacket of black cloth or stuff, under the gut-shirt of his own country. He had nothing to barter except a grey fox-skin and some fishing implements or harpoons, the heads of the shafts of which were neatly made of bone.

The weather was cloudy and hazy, with now and then sunshine, till the afternoon of the 22nd, when the wind came round to the south-east, and, as usual, brought thick rainy weather. Before the fog came on, no part of the mainland was in sight, except the volcano and another mountain close

by it. We made but little progress for some days, having the wind variable, and but little of it.

On the morning of the 25th we got an easterly breeze and, what was uncommon with this wind, clear weather, so that we not only saw the volcano, but other mountains, both to the east and west of it, and all the coast of the main land under them, much plainer than at any time before. The weather in the afternoon became gloomy, and at length turned to a mist, so thick that we could not see a hundred yards before us. We were now alarmed at hearing the sound of breakers on our larboard bow, and on heaving the lead found twenty-eight fathoms of water. I immediately anchored, and a few hours after, the fog having cleared a little, it appeared that we had escaped very imminent danger. We found ourselves three-quarters of a mile from the north-east side of an island, and the elevated rocks were about half a league each from us, and about the same distance from each other. There were several breakers about them, and yet Providence had, in the dark, guided the ships between these rocks, which I should not have ventured on a clear day, and to such an anchoring-place that I could not have chosen a better.

On a point which bore west from the ship three-quarters of a mile distant, were several natives and their habitations. In this place we saw them tow in two whales, which we supposed they had just killed. A few of them now and then came off to the ships and bartered a few trifling things with our people, but never remained above a quarter of an hour at a time; they rather seemed shy, and yet we could judge that they were no strangers to vessels something like ours.

At daybreak on the 28th we weighed with a light breeze at south, which was succeeded by variable light airs from all directions. But as there ran a rapid tide in our favour, we got through before the ebb made, and came to an anchor in twenty-eight fathoms of water near the southern shore. While we lay here, several of the natives came off to us and bartered a few fishing implements for tobacco. One of them, a young man, having upset his canoe while alongside one

of our boats, our people caught hold of him, but the canoes went adrift. The youth, by this accident, was obliged to come into the ship, and he went down into my cabin upon the first invitation, without expressing the least reluctance or uneasiness. His own clothes being wet, I gave him others, in which he dressed himself with as much ease as I could have done. From his behaviour, and that of some others, we were convinced that these people were no strangers to Europeans, and to some of their customs. But there was something in our ships that greatly excited their curiosity, for such as could not come off in their canoes assembled on the neighbouring hills to look at them.

Soon after we anchored, a native of the island brought on board a note, which he presented to me ; but it was written in the Russian language, which none of us could read. As it could be of no use to me, and might be of consequence to others, I returned it to the bearer, and dismissed him with a few presents, for which he expressed his thanks by making several low bows as he retired. In walking next day along the shore, I met a group of natives of both sexes, seated on the grass at a repast consisting of raw fish, which they seemed to eat with as much relish as we should a turbot served up with the richest sauce. By the evening we had completed our water, and made such observations as the time and weather would permit.

Thick fogs and a contrary wind detained us till the 2nd of July, which afforded an opportunity of acquiring some knowledge of the country and of its inhabitants.

Having now put to sea, we steered to the north, meeting with nothing to obstruct us in this course, but made very little progress for many successive days, nor met with anything remarkable. On the morning of the 16th we found ourselves nearer the land than we expected. Here, between two points, the coast forms a bay, in some parts of which the land was hardly visible from the mast-head. I sent Lieutenant Williamson with orders to land, and see what direction the coast took, and what the country produced, for it had but a barren appearance. Soon after, Mr. Williamson

returned and reported that he had landed on the point, and having climbed the highest hill, found that the farthest part of the coast in sight bore nearly north. He took possession of the country in his Majesty's name, and left on the hill a bottle in which was inscribed on a piece of paper the names of the ships, and the date of the discovery. The promontory, to which he gave the name of Cape Newenham, is a rocky point of tolerable height; the hills are naked, but on the lower grounds grew grass and other plants. He saw no other animal but a doe and her fawn, and a dead sea-horse or cow upon the beach.

From the 16th to the 21st nothing material occurred.

On the 21st we were obliged to anchor, to avoid running upon a shoal, which had only a depth of five feet. While we lay here, twenty-seven men of the country, each in a canoe, came off to the ship, which they approached with great caution, hallooing and opening their arms as they advanced, which we understood was to express their pacific intentions. At length some approached near enough to receive a few trifles that were thrown to them. This encouraged the rest to venture alongside, and traffic presently commenced between them and our people, who got dresses of skins, bows, arrows, darts, and wooden vessels, our visitors taking in exchange whatever was offered them. They seemed to be the same sort of people that we had of late met with all along this coast, wore the same kind of ornaments in their lips and noses, but were far more dirty and not so well clothed. They appeared to be wholly unacquainted with people like us, knew not the use of tobacco, nor was any foreign article seen in their possession, unless a knife made of a piece of common iron, fitted in a wooden handle, may be looked upon as such.

The canoes were made of skins, like all the others we had lately seen, but were broader, and the hole in which the man sits was wider than in any I had before met with. Our boats returning from sounding seemed to alarm them, so that they all left us sooner than probably they would otherwise have done.

Variable winds with rain prevailed till the 3rd of August. Mr. Anderson, my surgeon, who had been lingering under a consumption for more than twelve months, expired between three and four this afternoon. He was a sensible young man, an agreeable companion, well skilled in his own profession, and had acquired considerable knowledge in other branches of science.

Soon after he had breathed his last, land was seen to the westward, twelve leagues distant. It was supposed to be an island; and to perpetuate the memory of the deceased, for whom I had a very great regard, I named it Anderson's Island. The next day I removed Mr. Law, the surgeon of the *Discovery*, into the *Resolution*, and appointed Mr. Samuel, the surgeon's first mate of the *Resolution*, to be surgeon of the *Discovery*.

At ten in the morning of the 5th, with the wind at south-west, we ran down and anchored between the continent and an island four leagues in extent, which was named Sledge Island. I landed here, but saw neither shrub nor tree either upon the island or on the continent. That people had lately been on the island was evident from the marks of feet. We found, near where we landed, a sledge, which occasioned this name being given by me to the island. It seemed to be such an one as the Russians in Kamtschatka make use of over the ice or snow, and was ten feet long, twenty inches broad, and had a kind of rail-work on each side, and was shod with bone. The construction of it was admirable, and all the parts neatly put together. After several observations, from the 6th to the 9th, I was satisfied that the whole was a continued coast. I tacked and stood away for its north-west part, and came to anchor near a point of land, which I named Cape Prince of Wales. It is the western extremity of all America hitherto known.

At daybreak in the morning of the 10th we resumed our course to the west, and about ten o'clock anchored in a large bay two miles from the shore. As we were standing into this bay we perceived on the north shore a village and some people, whom the sight of the ships seemed to have thrown



into confusion or fear, as we could plainly see persons running up the country with burdens upon their backs. At these habitations I proposed to land, and accordingly went with three armed boats, accompanied by some of the officers. About thirty or forty men, each armed with a spontoon and bow and arrows, stood drawn up on a rising ground close by the village. As we drew near, three of them came down towards the shore, and were so polite as to take off their caps and to make us low bows. We returned the civility; but this did not inspire them with sufficient confidence to wait for our landing, for the moment we put the boats ashore they retired. I followed them alone, without anything in my hand, and by signs and gestures prevailed on them to stop and receive some trifling presents. In return for these they gave me two fox-skins and a couple of sea-horse teeth.

They seemed very fearful and cautious, expressing their desire by signs that no more of our people should be permitted to come up. On my laying my hand on the shoulder of one of them, he started back several paces. In proportion as I advanced, they retreated backward, always in the attitude of being ready to make use of their spears, while those on the rising ground stood ready to support them with their arrows. Insensibly, myself and two or three of my companions got in amongst them. A few beads distributed to those about us soon caused a kind of confidence, so that they were not alarmed when a few more of our people joined us, and by degrees a sort of traffic between us commenced. In exchange for knives, beads, tobacco, and other articles, they gave us some of their clothing and a few arrows. But nothing that we had to offer could induce them to part with a spear or a bow. These they held in constant readiness, never once quitting them, except at one time when four or five persons laid theirs down while they gave us a song and a dance. And even then they placed them in such a manner that they could lay hold of them in an instant, and, for their security, they desired us to sit down.

The arrows were pointed either with bone or stone, but

very few of them had barbs, and some had a round blunt point. What use these may be applied to I cannot say, unless it be to kill small animals without damaging the skin. The bones were such as we had seen on the American coast, and like those used by the Esquimaux. The spears or spontoons were of iron or steel, and of European or Asiatic workmanship, in which no little pains had been taken to ornament them with carving and inlayings of brass, and of a white metal. Those who stood ready with bows and arrows in their hands, had the spear slung over their right shoulder by a leathern strap; a leathern quiver, slung over their left shoulder, contained arrows, and some of the quivers were extremely beautiful, being made of red leather, on which was very neat embroidery and other ornaments.

Several other things, and in particular their clothing, showed that they were possessed of a degree of ingenuity far surpassing what one could expect to find among so northern a people. All the Americans we had seen, since our arrival on that coast, were rather low of stature, with round chubby faces and high cheek-bones. The people we now were amongst were far from resembling them; in short, they appeared to be quite a different nation. We saw neither women or children of either sex, nor any aged except one man, who was bald-headed, and he was the only one who carried no arms; the others seemed to be picked men, and rather under than above the middle age.

Their clothing consisted of a cap, a frock, a pair of boots, and a pair of gloves, all made of leather, or of the skins of deer, dogs, or seals, &c., and extremely well dressed, some with the hair or fur on. The caps were made to fit the head very close, and they also had hoods, made of the skin of dogs, that were large enough to cover both head and shoulders. Their hair seemed to be black, but their heads were either shaved, or the hair cut close off, and none of them wore any beard.

We found the village composed both of their summer and their winter habitations. The latter are exactly like a vault, the floor of which is sunk a little below the surface of the

earth. One of them which I examined was of an oval form, about twenty feet long and twelve or more high; the framing was of wood and the ribs of whales, disposed in a judicious manner, and bound together with smaller materials of the same sort; over this framing is laid a covering of strong coarse grass; and that again is covered with earth, so that on the outside the house looks like a little hillock, supported by a wall of stone, three or four feet high, which is built round the two sides and one end. At the other end the earth is raised and sloping, to form a walk up to the entrance, which is by a hole in the top of the roof over that end. The floor was boarded, and under it a kind of cellar, in which I saw nothing but water, and at the end of each house was a vaulted room, which I took to be a store-room. These store-rooms communicated with the house by a dark passage and with the open air by a hole in the roof, which was even with the ground one walked upon; but they cannot be said to be wholly underground, for one end leads to the edge of the hill along which they were made, and which was built up with stone. Over it stood a kind of sentry-box, or tower, composed of the bones of large fish. The summer huts were pretty large and circular, being brought to a point at the top; the framing was of slight poles and bones, covered with the skins of sea animals. I examined the inside of one; there was a fireplace just within the door where lay a few wooden vessels, all very dirty. Their bed-places were close to the side, and took up about half the circuit; some privacy seemed to be observed, for there were several partitions made with skins; the bed and bedding were of deer-skins, and most of them were dry and clean.

Above the habitations were erected several stages, ten or twelve feet high, such as we had observed in some parts of the American coast. They were wholly composed of bones, and seemed intended for drying their fish and skins, which were thus placed beyond the reach of their dogs, of which they had a great many. These dogs are of the fox kind, rather large and of different colours, with long soft hair like wool. They are probably used in drawing their sledges in

winter, of which I saw a great many laid up in one of the winter huts. It is also not improbable that dogs may constitute a part of their food, as several lay dead that had been killed that morning.

The canoes of these people are of the same sort as those of the North Americans, some, both of the large and small sizes, being seen lying in a creek under the village.

By the large bones of fish, and of other sea animals, it appeared that the sea supplied them with the greater part of their subsistence. The country appeared to be exceedingly barren, yielding neither tree nor shrub, that we could see. At some distance westward we observed a ridge of mountains covered with snow that had lately fallen.

At first we supposed this land to be a part of the island of Alaschka, laid down in Mr. Stæhlin's map; but, from the figure of the coast, the situation of the opposite shore of America, and from the longitude, we soon began to think that it was more probably the eastern extremity of Asia explored by Behring in 1728. But to have admitted this, without further examination, I must have pronounced Mr. Stæhlin's map and his account of the New Northern Archipelago to be either exceedingly erroneous, even in latitude, or else to be a mere fiction—a judgment which I had no right to pass upon a publication so respectably vouched, without producing the clearest proofs.

After a stay of between two and three hours with these people, we returned to our ships; and soon after, the wind veering to the south, we weighed anchor, stood out of the bay, and steered to the north-east, between the coast and the two islands. From this station we steered east, in order to get nearer the American coast. In this course the water shoaled gradually, and, there being but little wind, and all our endeavours to increase our depth failing, I was obliged at last to drop anchor in six fathoms, the only remedy we had left to prevent the ships driving into less.

A breeze of wind springing up from the north, we weighed at nine in the evening, and stood to the westward, which course soon brought us into deep water; and during the

12th we worked up to the north, both coasts being in sight, but we kept nearest to that of America.

Nothing particular occurred until the 16th, when, some time before noon, we perceived a brightness in the northern horizon, like that reflected from ice, commonly called "the blink." It was little noticed, from a supposition that it was improbable we should meet with ice so soon; and yet the sharpness of the air and gloominess of the weather for two or three days past seemed to indicate some sudden change. About an hour after, the sight of a large field of ice left us no longer in doubt about the cause of the brightness of the horizon. At half-past two, being in  $70^{\circ} 41'$  North latitude, we tacked close to the edge of the ice in twenty-two fathoms of water, not being able to stand on any further, for the ice was quite impenetrable, and stretched as far as the eye could reach. Here were abundance of sea-horses, some in the water, but far more upon the ice. I had thoughts of hoisting out the boats to kill some, but, the wind freshening, I gave up the design, and continued to work to the southward, or rather to the westward, for the wind came from that quarter. We gained nothing, for on the 18th, at noon, our latitude was  $70^{\circ} 44'$ ,\* and we were near five leagues farther to the eastward. We were at this time close to the edge of the ice, which was as compact as a wall, and seemed to be ten or twelve feet high at least; but farther northward it appeared much higher. Its surface was extremely ragged, and here and there we saw upon it pools of water.

We now stood to the southward, and, after running six leagues, shoaled the water to seven fathoms, but it soon deepened to nine fathoms. At this time the weather, which had been hazy, clearing up a little, we saw land, extending from south to south-east by east, about three or four miles distant. The eastern extreme forms a point, which was much encumbered with ice, for which reason it obtained the name of Icy Cape. Its latitude is  $70^{\circ} 29'$ , and its longitude  $198^{\circ} 20'$ .

\* This was the highest latitude attained by Captain Cook; and it was not until 1806 that Captain Beechey rounded Icy Cape in H.M.S. *Blossom*.

The other extreme of the land was lost in the horizon, so that there can be no doubt of its being a continuation of the American continent. The *Discovery*, being about a mile astern and to leeward, found less water than we did, and tacking on that account, I was obliged to tack also, to prevent separation.

Our situation was now more and more critical. We were in shoal water, upon a lee-shore, and the main body of the ice to windward, driving down upon us. It was evident that, if we remained much longer between it and the land, it would force us ashore, unless it should happen to take the ground before us. It seemed nearly to join the land to leeward, and the only direction that was open was to the south-west. After making a short board to the northward, I made the signal for the *Discovery* to tack, and tacked myself at the same time. The wind proved rather favourable, so that we lay up south-west, and south-west by west.

At eight in the morning of the 19th, the wind veering back to west, I tacked to the northward, when we had a good deal of drift ice about us, the main ice being about two leagues to the north. At half-past one we got in with the edges of it, but it was too close and in too large pieces to attempt forcing the ships through it. On the ice lay a prodigious number of sea-horses, and as we were in want of fresh provisions, a boat from each ship was sent to get some. By seven o'clock in the evening we had received on board the *Resolution* nine of these animals. Some of the crew who had been in Greenland declared that no one ever eat them, but notwithstanding this we lived upon them as long as they lasted, and there were few on board who did not prefer them to our salt meat. The fat at first is as sweet as marrow, but in a few days it grows rancid unless it be salted, in which state it will keep much longer; when melted it yields a great deal of oil, which burns very well in lamps. The lean flesh is coarse, black, and has rather a strong taste, the heart is nearly as well tasted as that of a bullock, and the hide, which is very thick, was useful about our rigging. The teeth or tusks of most of them were at this time very small; even

those of some of the largest and oldest of these animals did not exceed six inches in length, from which we concluded that they had lately shed their old teeth.

They lie in herds of many hundreds upon the ice, huddling one over the other like swine, and roar or bray very loud, so that in the night, or in foggy weather, they gave us notice of the vicinity of the ice before we could see it. We never found the whole herd asleep, some being always upon the watch ; these, on the approach of the boat, would awake those next to them, and the alarm being thus gradually communicated, the whole herd would be awake presently. But they were seldom in a hurry to get away, till after they had been once fired at, when they would tumble one over the other into the sea in the utmost confusion ; and if we did not at the first discharge kill those we fired at, we generally lost them, though mortally wounded. They did not appear to us to be as savage as some authors have represented, not even when attacked. Vast numbers of them would follow and come close up to the boats, but the flash of a musket in the pan, or even the bare pointing of one at them, would send them down in an instant. The female will defend her young to the very last and at the expense of her own life, whether in the water or upon the ice ; nor will the young one quit the dam, though she be dead, so that if you kill one you are sure of the other. The dam, when in the water, holds the young one between her fore-fins.

Why they should be called sea-horses is hard to say, unless the word be a corruption of the Russian name "*morse*," for they have not the least resemblance to a horse. This is, without doubt, the same animal that is found in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and there called a sea-cow. It is certainly more like a cow than an horse, but this likeness consists in nothing but the snout ; in short, it is an animal like a seal, but much larger.

It is worth observing that, for some days before this date, we had frequently seen flocks of ducks flying to the southward, and some said they saw geese also. Does not this indicate that there must be land to the north, where these

birds find shelter in the proper season to breed, and from whence they were now returning to a warmer climate?

By the time we had got our sea-horses on board we were in a manner surrounded with the ice, and had no way to clear it but by standing to the southward, which was done till three o'clock next morning, when we tacked, and stood to the north till ten o'clock, when, the wind veering to the northward, we directed our course to the west-south-west and west. At two in the afternoon we fell in with the main ice, along the edge of which we kept, being partly directed by the roaring of the sea-horses, for we had a very thick fog. Thus we continued sailing till near midnight. I now hauled to the southward, and at ten o'clock the next morning, the fog clearing away, we saw the continent of America. I continued to steer in for the American land until eight o'clock, in order to get a nearer view of it, and to look for a harbour, but seeing nothing like one, I stood again to the north, with a light breeze westerly. The southern extremity of the coast seemed to form a point, which was named Cape Lisburne, and appeared to be high land, even down to the sea.

During the next few days the ships, surrounded by the ice, frequently changed their course, and on the evening of the 27th, having but little wind, I went with the boats to examine the state of the ice. I found it consisting of loose pieces of various extent, and so close together that I could hardly enter the outer edge with a boat, and it was as impossible for the ships to enter it as if it had been so many rocks. I took particular notice that it was all pure transparent ice, except the upper surface, which was a little porous. It appeared to be entirely composed of frozen snow, and to have been all formed at sea.

A thick fog, which came on while I was thus employed with the boats, hastened me aboard rather sooner than I could have wished, with one sea-horse to each ship. We had killed more, but could not wait to bring them with us. The number of these animals on all the ice we had seen is almost incredible. We spent the night standing off and on amongst the drift-ice, and at nine o'clock the next morning, the fog



having partly dispersed, boats from each ship were sent for sea-horses, for by this time our people began to relish them, and those we had procured before were all consumed.

On the morning of the 29th we saw the main ice to the northward, and not long after, land bearing south-west by west. Presently after this, more land showed itself, bearing west, in two hills, like islands, but afterwards the whole appeared connected. As we approached the coast, it appeared to lie low, next the sea, with elevated land farther back. It was perfectly destitute of wood, and even snow. In the low ground, lying between the high land and the sea, was a lake, extending to the south-east farther than we could see. As we stood off, the westernmost of the two hills before mentioned came open off the bluff point, which was named Cape North. Its situation is nearly in the latitude of  $68^{\circ} 56'$ , and in the longitude of  $180^{\circ} 51'$ . Being desirous of seeing more of the coast to the westward, we tacked again, at two o'clock in the afternoon, thinking we could weather Cape North, but, finding we could not, the wind freshening, & thick fog coming on, with much snow, and being fearful of the ice coming down upon us, I gave up the design I had formed of working to the westward, and stood off shore again.

The season was now so far advanced, and the time when the frost is expected to set in so near at hand, that I did not think it consistent with prudence to make any farther attempts to find a passage into the Atlantic this year in any direction, so little prospect was there of succeeding. My attention was now directed towards finding out some place where we might supply ourselves with wood and water, and the object uppermost in my thoughts was how I should spend the winter, so as to make some improvements in geography and navigation, and at the same time be in a condition to return to the north in further search of a passage the ensuing summer.

After standing off till we got into eighteen fathoms of water, I bore up to the eastward along the coast of Asia. At day-break on the 30th we made sail, and steered such a course

as I thought would bring us in with the land, for the weather was as thick as ever, and it snowed incessantly. At ten we got sight of the coast, bearing south-west, four miles distant. The inland country hereabout is full of hills, some of which are of a considerable height; and the land was covered with snow.

On the 2nd of September we had fair weather and sunshine, and as we ranged along the coast, at the distance of four miles, saw several of the inhabitants and some of their habitations, which looked like little hillocks of earth. None of them, however, attempted to come off to us, which seemed a little extraordinary, as the weather was favourable.

The more I was convinced of my being now upon the coast of Asia, the more I was at a loss to reconcile Mr. Stehlin's map of the New Northern Archipelago with my observations; and I had no way to account for the great difference but by supposing that I had mistaken some part of what he calls the island of Alaschka for the American continent, and had missed the channel that separates them. Admitting even this, there would still have been a considerable difference. It was with me a matter of some consequence to clear up this point the present season, that I might have but one object in view the next; and as these northern isles are represented by him as abounding with wood, I was in hopes, if I should find them, of getting a supply of that article, which we now began to be in great want of on board. With these views I steered over for the American coast, and on the 6th we got sight of it. Pursuing our course, on the 9th we found ourselves upon a coast covered with wood, an agreeable sight, to which of late we had not been accustomed. Next morning, being about a league from the west shore, I took two boats and landed, attended by Mr. King, to seek wood and water. Here we observed tracks of deer and foxes on the beach, on which also lay a great quantity of drift wood; and there was no want of fresh water. I returned on board with an intention to bring the ships to an anchor here, but, the wind veering to north-east, I stretched over to the opposite shore, in hopes of finding wood there also, and

anchored at eight o'clock in the evening ; but next morning we found it to be a peninsula, united to the continent by a low neck of land, on each side of which the coast forms a bay, which obtained the name of Cape Denbigh.

Several people were seen upon the peninsula, and one man came off in a small canoe. I gave him a knife and a few beads, with which he seemed well pleased. Having made signs to bring us something to eat, he immediately left us, and paddled towards the shore ; but meeting another man coming off who happened to have two dried salmon, he got them, and would give them to nobody but me.

Lieutenant Gore being now sent to the peninsula, reported that there was but little fresh water, and that wood was difficult to be got at, by reason of the boats grounding at some distance from the beach. This being the case, I stood back to the other shore, and at eight o'clock the next morning I sent all the boats and a party of men with an officer to get wood from the place where I had landed two days before.

Next day a family of the natives came near to our wooding party. I know not how many there were at first, but I saw only the husband, the wife, and their child, and a fourth person who bore the human shape, and that was all, for he was the most deformed cripple I had ever seen.

Iron was their favourite article ; for four knives, which we had made out of an old iron hoop, I got from them near 400 lbs. of fish which they had caught on this or the preceding day. I gave the child, who was a girl, a few beads, on which the mother burst into tears, then the father, then the cripple, and at last, to complete the concert, the girl herself.

Before night we had the ship amply supplied with wood, and had carried on board above twelve tons of water to each. Some doubts being still entertained whether the coast we were now upon belonged to an island or the American continent, and the shallowness of the water putting it out of our power to determine this with our ships, I sent Lieutenant King with two boats under his command to make such searches as might leave no room for a variety of opinions on the subject. This officer returned from his expedition on the

16th, and reported that he proceeded with the boats about three or four leagues farther than the ships had been able to go ; that he then landed on the west side ; that from the heights he could see the two coasts join, and the inlet terminate in a small river or creek, before which were banks of sand or mud, and everywhere shoal water. From the elevated spot on which Mr. King surveyed the sound, he could distinguish many extensive valleys, with rivers running through them, well wooded and bounded by hills of a gentle ascent and moderate height. In honour of Sir Fletcher Norton, Speaker of the House of Commons, and Mr. King's near relative, I named this inlet Norton's Sound.

Having now fully satisfied myself that Mr. Stæhlin's map must be erroneous, and having restored the American continent to that space which he had occupied with his imaginary island of Alaschka, it was high time to think of leaving these northern regions, and to retire to some place during the winter, where I might procure some refreshments for my people and a small supply of provisions. Petropaulowska, or the harbour of St. Peter and St. Paul, in Kamtschatka, did not appear likely to furnish either the one or the other for so large a number of men. I had, besides, other reasons for not repairing thither at this time ; the first, and on which all the others depended, was the great dislike I had to lie inactive for six or seven months, which would have been the necessary consequence of wintering in any of these northern parts. No place was so conveniently within our reach, where we could expect to have our wants relieved as the Sandwich Islands ; to them, therefore, I determined to proceed.

On the 2nd of October, at daybreak, we saw the island of Oonalashka, bearing south-east ; and as all harbours were alike to me, provided they were equally safe and convenient, I hauled into a bay, but, finding very deep water, we were glad to get out again. The natives, many of whom lived here, visited us at different times, bringing with them dead salmon and other fish, which they exchanged with the seamen for tobacco. A few days before, every ounce of

tobacco that was in the ships had been distributed among the crew, and the quantity was not half sufficient to answer their demands; notwithstanding this, so improvident a creature is an English sailor, that they were as profuse in making their bargains as if they were in a port of Virginia, so that in less than eight-and-forty hours the value of this article of barter was lowered above 1000 per cent.

At one o'clock in the afternoon of the 3rd we anchored in Samganoodha harbour, and the next morning the carpenters of both ships were set to work to rip off the sheathing of and under the wale on the starboard side abaft. Many of the seams were found quite open, so that it was no wonder that so much water had found its way into the ship. While we lay here we cleared the fish and spirit rooms and the after-hold, disposing things in such a manner that, in case we should happen to have any more leaks of the same nature, the water might find its way to the pumps. And besides this work and completing our water, we cleared the fore-hold to the very bottom, and took in a quantity of ballast.

On the 14th, in the evening, while Mr. Webber and I were at a village a small distance from Samganoodha, a Russian landed there, who, I found, was the principal person among his countrymen in this and the neighbouring islands. Ismyloff, as he was called, arrived in a canoe carrying three persons, attended by twenty or thirty other canoes, each conducted by one man. I took notice that the first thing they did after landing was to make a small tent for Ismyloff of materials which they brought with them, and then they made others for themselves of their canoes and paddles, which they covered with grass, so that the people of the village were at no trouble to find them lodgings. Ismyloff, having invited us into his tent, set before us some dried salmon and berries, which I was satisfied was the best cheer he had. He appeared to be a sensible, intelligent man, and I felt no small mortification in not being able to converse with him, unless by signs, assisted by figures and other characters, which, however, were a very great help. I desired to see him on board the next day, and accordingly he came,

with all his attendants; indeed, he had moved into our neighbourhood for the express purpose of waiting upon us.

I found that he was very well acquainted with the geography of these parts, and with all the recent discoveries of the Russians. On seeing the modern maps, he at once pointed out their errors.

Both Ismyloff and the others affirmed that they knew nothing of the continent of America to the northward, and they called it by the same name which Mr. Stæhlin gives to his great island—that is, *Alaschka*. From what we could gather from Ismyloff and his countrymen, the Russians have made several attempts to get a footing upon that part of this continent that lies contiguous to *Oonalashka* and the adjoining islands, but have always been repelled by the natives, whom they describe as a very treacherous people. They mentioned two or three captains or chief men who had been murdered by them, and some of the Russians showed us wounds which they said they had received there.

In the following afternoon, M. Ismyloff, after dining with Captain Clerke, left us with all his retinue, promising to return in a few days. Accordingly, on the 19th he paid us another visit, and brought with him the charts, which he allowed me to copy. He remained with us till the evening of the 21st, when he took his final leave. To his care I entrusted a letter to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, in which was enclosed a chart of all the northern coasts I had visited. He said there would be an opportunity of sending it to *Kamtschatka* or to *Okotsk* the ensuing spring, and that it would be at *St. Petersburg* the following winter. He gave me a letter \* to Major *Behm*, governor of *Kamtschatka*, and another to the commanding officer at *Petropaulowska*.

There are Russians settled upon all the principal islands between *Oonalashka* and *Kamtschaka*, for the sole purpose of collecting furs. Their great object is the sea-beaver, or otter. I never heard them inquire after any other animal,

\* This letter reached its destination in safety, and may be found in the Admiralty archives, among the other papers of the great navigator.

though those whose skins are of superior value also form part of their cargoes.

To all appearances the natives are the most peaceable, inoffensive people I ever met with, and as to honesty, they might serve as a pattern to the most civilised nation upon earth. The natives have their own chiefs in each island, and seem to enjoy liberty and property unmolested, but whether or not they are tributaries to the Russians we could never find out. These people are rather low of stature, but plump and well shaped, with rather short necks, swarthy, chubby faces, black eyes, small beards, and long straight black hair, which the men wear loose behind and cut before, but the women tie it up in a bunch. Both sexes wear the same dresses in fashion, the only difference is in the materials. The women's frock is made of seal-skin, and that of the men of the skins of birds, both reaching below the knee. This is the whole dress of the women, but the men wear over the frock another made of gut, which resists water, and has a hood to it, which draws over the head. Some of them wear boots, and all of them have a kind of cap made of wood, with a rim to admit the head. These caps are dyed with green and other colours, and round the upper part of the rim are stuck the long bristles of some sea animal, on which are strung glass beads, and on the front is a small image or two made of bone.

They make use of no paint, but the women puncture their faces slightly, and both men and women bore the under lips, to which they fix pieces of bone. Their food consists of flesh, sea animals, birds, roots, and berries, and even of seaweed. They dry large quantities of fish in summer, which they lay up in small huts for winter use. They eat everything raw. Boiling and broiling were the only methods of cookery that I saw them make use of, and the first was probably learnt from the Russians. Some have got little brass kettles, and those who have not make one of a flat stone, with sides of clay. I was once present when the chief of Oonalashka made his dinner of the raw head of a large halibut, just caught. Before any was given to the chief, two of his servants eat the gills, without any other dressing than

squeezing out the slime. This done, one of them cut off the head of the fish, took it to the sea and washed it, then came with it and sat down by the chief, first pulling up some grass, upon a part of which the head was laid, and the rest was strewed before the chief. He then cut large pieces off the cheeks, and laid them within the reach of the great man, who swallowed them with as much satisfaction as we should do raw oysters. When he had done, the remains of the head were cut in pieces and given to the attendants, who tore off the meat with their teeth, gnawing the bones like so many dogs.

They produce fire both by collision and by attrition. The former by striking two stones, one against another, on one of which a good deal of brimstone is first rubbed; the latter method is with two pieces of wood, one of which is a stick about eighteen inches in length, and the other a flat piece. The pointed end of the stick they press upon the other, whirling it nimbly round as a drill, thus producing fire in a few minutes. This method is common in many parts of the world. It is practised by the Kamtschadales, by these people, by the Greenlanders, by the Brazilians, by the Otaheiteans, by the New Hollanders, and probably by many other nations.

The canoes made use of by the natives are the smallest we had anywhere seen upon the American coast, though built after the same manner, with some little difference in the construction. The stern of these terminates a little abruptly, the head is forked, the upper point of the fork projecting without the under one, which is even with the surface of the water; the framing is of slender laths, and the covering of seal-skins. They are about twelve feet long, a foot and a half broad in the middle, and twelve or fourteen inches deep. Upon occasion, they can carry two persons, one of whom is stretched at full length in the canoe, and the other sits in the seat or round hole, which is nearly in the middle. Round this hole is a rim or hoop of wood, about which is sewed gut skin, that can be drawn together, or opened like a purse with leathern thongs fitted to the outer



edge. The man seats himself in this place, draws the skin tight round his body over his gut-pouch, and brings the end of the thongs or purse-string over the shoulder to keep it in its place. The sleeves of his frock are tied tight round his wrists, and it being close round his neck, and the hood drawn over his head, where it is confined by his cap, water can scarcely penetrate either to his body or into the canoe. If any should, however, insinuate itself, the boatman carries a piece of sponge with which he dries it up. He uses the double-bladed paddle, which is held by both hands in the middle, striking the water with a quick regular motion, first on one side and then on the other. By this means the canoe is impelled at a great rate, and in a direction as straight as a line can be drawn.

The fishing and hunting implements lie ready upon the canoes, under straps fixed for the purpose. They are all made in great perfection, of wood and bone, and differ very little from those used by the Greenlanders, as they are described by Crantz. These people are very expert in striking fish both in the sea and in rivers. They also make use of hooks and lines, nets, and spears; the hooks are composed of bone, and the lines of sinews.

The people of Oonalashka bury their dead on summits of hills, and raise a little hillock over the grave. In a walk into the country, one of the natives who attended me pointed out several of these receptacles of the dead. There was one of them by the side of the road leading from the harbour to the village, over which was raised a heap of stones. It was observed that every one who passed it added one to it. I saw in the country several stone hillocks, that seemed to have been raised by art. Many of them were apparently of great antiquity.

In the morning of Monday, the 26th of October, we put to sea from Samganoodha harbour. My intention was now to proceed to the Sandwich Islands, there to spend a few of the winter months, in case we should meet with the necessary supplies, and then to direct our course to Kamtschatka, so as to endeavour to be there by the middle of May

in the ensuing summer. In consequence of this resolution I gave Captain Clerke orders how to proceed in case of separation, appointing the Sandwich Islands for the first place of rendezvous, and the harbour of Petropaulowska, in Kamtschatka, for the second. Nothing remarkable happened during our voyage, and at daybreak on the 26th of November land was sighted, extending from south-south-east to west. We were now satisfied that the group of the Sandwich Islands had been only imperfectly discovered, as those which we had visited in our progress northward all lie to the leeward of our present station. I bore up and ranged along the coast to the westward, and it was not long before we saw people on several parts of the shore, and some houses and plantations. The country seemed to be both well wooded and watered.

As it was of the last importance to procure a supply of provisions at these islands, and taught by experience that I could have no chance to succeed in this if a free trade with the natives were to be allowed—that is, if it were left to every man's discretion to trade for what he pleased, and in the manner he pleased—I now published an order, prohibiting all persons from trading, except such as should be appointed by me and Captain Clerke, and even these were enjoined to trade only for provisions and supplies.

At noon, seeing some canoes coming off, I brought to, and as soon as they got alongside, many of the people came into the ship, without the least hesitation.

We got from our visitors a quantity of cuttle-fish in exchange for nails and pieces of iron. They brought very little fruit and roots, but told us that they had plenty of them on their island, as also hogs and fowls. In the evening, the horizon being clear to the westward, we judged the westernmost land in sight to be an island, separated from that off which we now were. Having no doubt that the people would return to the ships next day with the produce of their country, I kept tacking all night, and, in the morning, stood close in shore. At first only a few of the natives visited us but towards noon we had the company of a good many,

who brought bread-fruit, potatoes, tarro, or eddy-roots, a few plantains and small pigs, all of which they exchanged for nails and iron tools; indeed, we had nothing else to give them. We continued trading with them till four o'clock in the afternoon, when, having disposed of all their cargoes, and not seeming inclined to fetch more, we made sail and stood off shore.

In the afternoon of the 30th, being off the north-east end of the island, several canoes came off to the ships. Most of these belonged to a chief named Terreeoboo, who came in one of them. He made me a present of two or three small pigs, and we got by barter from the people a little fruit. After a stay of about two hours, they all left us, except six or eight of their company, who chose to remain on board; a double sailing canoe came soon after to attend upon them, which we towed astern all night. In the evening we discovered another island to windward, which the natives call Owhyhee.\* The name of that off which we had been for some days, we were also told, is Mowee.

On the 1st of December, at eight in the morning, finding that we could fetch Owhyhee, I stood for it, and our visitors from Mowee, not choosing to accompany us, embarked in their canoe and went ashore. At seven in the evening we were close up with the north side of Owhyhee, where we spent the night, standing off and on. In the morning of the 2nd we were surprised to see the summits of the mountains on Owhyhee covered with snow. As we drew near the shore, some of the natives came off to us; they were a little shy at first, but we soon enticed some of them on board, and at last prevailed upon them to return to the island and bring off what we wanted. Soon after they had reached the shore, we had company enough, and few coming empty-handed, we got a tolerable supply of small pigs, fruit, and roots; we con-

\* The Sandwich Islands, of which Owhyhee, or Hawaii, is the chief, consist of eight inhabited islands, and two or three rocky and desolate islets. The former are called Woahoo or Oahu, Mowee, Kawai or Atooi, which Cook had already visited, Molokai, Lannai, Niihaw, and Kahoolawe. Their whole superficial area is 6000 square miles, 4000 of which are comprised in Owhyhee alone.

tinued trading with them till the evening, when we made sail and stood off. We resumed trading with the natives on the 6th and 7th, and procured pork, fruit, and roots, sufficient for four or five days. We then made sail, and continued to work up to windward. Having procured a quantity of sugar-cane, and finding that a strong decoction of it produced a very palatable beer, I ordered some more to be brewed for our general use ; but when the cask was now broached, not one of my crew would even so much as taste it. As I had no motive in preparing this beverage but to save our spirits for a colder climate, I gave myself no further trouble, either by exerting authority, or by having recourse to persuasion to prevail upon them to drink it, knowing that there was no danger of the scurvy, so long as we could get a plentiful supply of other vegetables. But, that I might not be thwarted in my views, I gave orders that no grog should be served in either ship. I myself, and the officers, continued to make use of the sugar-cane beer whenever we could get materials for brewing it. A few hops, of which we had some on board, improved it much. It has the taste of new malt beer, and I believe no one will doubt of its being very wholesome, yet my inconsiderate crew alleged that it was injurious to their health. They had no better reason to support a resolution which they took on our first arrival in King George's Sound, not to drink the spruce beer made there ; but, whether from consideration that it was not the first time of their being required to use that liquor, or from some other reason, they did not attempt to carry their purpose into actual execution, and I had never heard of it until now, when they renewed their ignorant opposition to my best endeavours to serve them. Every innovation whatever on board a ship, though ever so much to the advantage of seamen, is sure to meet with their highest disapprobation. Both portable soup and sour krout were at first condemned as stuff unfit for human beings. Few commanders have introduced into their ships more novelties, as useful varieties of food and drink, than I have done ; indeed, few commanders have had the same opportunities of trying such experiments.

I kept at some distance from the coast till the 13th, when I stood in again six leagues farther to windward than we had as yet reached, and, after having some trade with the natives who visited us, stood out to sea. I now determined to get round, or at least to get a sight of the south-east end of the island, but the wind was variable between the 14th and 18th, blowing sometimes in hard squalls, and at other times calm, with thunder, lightning, and rain. In the evening it shifted to east by south, and we stood to the southward, close-hauled under easy sail, as the *Discovery* was at some distance astern. At this time the south-east point of the island bore south-west by south, about five leagues distant, and I made no doubt that I should be able to weather it. But at one o'clock next morning it fell calm, and we were left to the mercy of a north-easterly swell, which impelled us fast towards the land, so that, long before daybreak, we saw lights and the shore, which was not more than a league distant. The night was dark, with thunder, lightning, and rain.

At three o'clock the calm was succeeded by a breeze, blowing in squalls, with rain, and at daybreak the coast was seen extending from north to south-west, a dreadful surf breaking upon the shore, which was not more than half a league distant. It was evident that we had been in the most imminent danger; nor were we yet in safety, the wind veering more easterly, so that for some time we did but just keep our distance from the coast. What made our situation more alarming was the leech-rope\* of the maintopsail giving way, which was the occasion of the sail being rent in two; and the two topgallant sails gave way in the same manner, though not half worn out. By taking a favourable opportunity we soon bent others, and then we left the land astern. The *Discovery*, by being at some distance to the north, was never near the land, nor did we see her till eight o'clock.

As soon as daylight appeared, the natives ashore displayed a white flag, which we conceived to be a signal of peace and

\* The leech-rope is that vertical part of the bolt-rope to which the edge of the sail is sewed.

friendship. Some of them ventured out after us, but the wind freshening, and it not being safe to wait, they were soon left astern. In the afternoon, after making an attempt to weather the eastern extreme, which failed, I gave it up, and ran down to the *Discovery*. Indeed, it was of no consequence to get round the island, for we had seen its extent to the south-east, which was what I wanted ; and according to the information we had gained from the natives, there is no other island to the windward of this. However, as we were so near the south-east end of it, and as the least shift of wind in our favour would serve to carry us round, I did not wholly give up the idea of weathering it, and therefore continued tacking the ship.

On the 20th, in the afternoon, some of the natives came off in their canoes, bringing with them a few pigs and plantains ; but the supply being barely sufficient for one day, I stood in again the next morning, till within three or four miles of the land, where we were met by a number of canoes, laden with provisions. We brought to, and continued trading with the people till four in the afternoon, when, having got a pretty good supply, we made sail, and stretched off to the northward.

I had never met with a behaviour so free from reserve and suspicion, in my intercourse with any tribes of savages, as we experienced in the people of this island. It was very common for them to send up into the ship the several articles they brought off for barter, after which they would come in themselves, and make their bargains on the quarter-deck. The people of Otahete, even after our repeated visits, do not care to put so much confidence in us, whence I infer that those of Owhyhee must be more faithful in their dealings with one another than the inhabitants of Otahete are ; for, if little faith were observed amongst themselves, they would not be so ready to trust strangers. It is also to be observed, to their honour, that they had never once attempted to cheat us in exchanges, nor to commit a theft.

On the 22nd, at four in the afternoon, after purchasing everything that the natives had brought off, we made sail, and stretched to the north ; and at midnight we tacked and

stood to the south-east. Supposing that the *Discovery* would see us tack, the signal was omitted, but she did not see us, as we afterwards found, and continued standing to the north, so that, at daylight next morning, she was not in sight. At this time, the weather being hazy, we could not see far, so that it was possible the *Discovery* might be following us; and being past the north-east part of the island I was tempted to stand on, till, by the wind veering to north-east, we could not weather the land upon the other tack; consequently we could not stand to the north, to join or look for the *Discovery*. At six in the evening we had succeeded in getting to windward of the island, which we had aimed at with so much perseverance. The *Discovery*, however, was not yet to be seen; but the wind, as we had it, being very favourable for her to follow us, I concluded that it would not be long before she joined us; I therefore kept cruising off this south-east point of the island till I was satisfied that Captain Clerke would not join me here. I now conjectured that he had not been able to weather the north-east part of the island, and had gone to leeward, in order to meet me that way.

As I generally kept from five to ten leagues from the land, no canoes, except one, came off to us till the 28th, when we were visited by a dozen or fourteen.

We stood in again on the 30th, and brought to for the purposes of trade, but soon after our marketing was interrupted by a very hard rain, and, besides, we were rather too far from the shore. Nor durst I go nearer, for I could not depend upon the wind's remaining where it was for a moment, the swell also being high, and setting obliquely upon the shore, against which it broke in a frightful surf. In the evening the weather mended, but before daybreak the atmosphere was again loaded with heavy clouds, and the new year was ushered in with very hard rain, which continued at intervals, till past ten o'clock. Being about five miles from land, several canoes arrived with fruit and roots, and at last some hogs were brought off. We lay to trading with them till three o'clock in the afternoon, when, having a tolerable supply, we made sail with a view of proceeding to the north-

west, or lee side of the island, to look for the *Discovery*. For several days past both wind and weather had been exceedingly unsettled, and there fell a great deal of rain. The three following days were spent in running down the south-east side of the island, for during the night we stood off and on, and part of each day was employed in lying to, in order to furnish an opportunity to the natives of trading with us. They sometimes came on board while we were five leagues from the shore, but whether from fear of losing their goods in the sea or from the uncertainty of a market, they never brought much with them. The principal article procured was salt, which was extremely good.

On the morning of the 5th of January, 1779, we passed the south point of the island, on which stands a pretty large village, the inhabitants of which thronged off to the ship with hogs. As I had now got a quantity of salt, I purchased no hogs but such as were fit for salting, refusing all that were under size ; however, we could seldom get any above fifty or sixty pounds weight. It was fortunate for us that we had still some vegetables on board, for we now received few such productions ; indeed, this part of the country, from its appearance, did not seem capable of affording them. Marks of its having been laid waste by the explosion of a volcano everywhere presented themselves, and though we had as yet seen nothing like one upon the island, the devastation that it had made in this neighbourhood was visible to the naked eye.

The next morning the natives visited us again, bringing with them the same articles of commerce as before. Being now near the shore, I sent Mr. Bligh, the master, in a boat to sound the coast, with orders to land and to look for fresh water. Upon his return, he reported that he found no running stream, but only rain water, deposited in holes upon the rocks, and even that was brackish from the spray of the sea, and that the surface of the country was entirely composed of slags and ashes, with a few plants interspersed. Between ten and eleven we saw with pleasure the *Discovery* coming round the south point of the island, and, at one in the afternoon, she joined us. Captain Clerke coming on board, in-



formed me that he had cruised four or five days where we were separated, and then worked round the east side of the island, but that, meeting with unfavourable winds, he had been carried to some distance from the coast. He had one of the islanders on board all this time, who had remained there from choice, and had refused to quit the ship, though opportunities offered.

Having spent the night standing off and on, we stood in again the next morning, and when we were about a league from the shore, many of the natives visited us ; at daybreak on the 8th we found that the currents had carried us back considerably to windward, so that we were now off the southwest point of the island. There we brought to, in order to give the natives an opportunity of trading with us. We spent the night as usual, standing off and on, and, at four in the morning of the 11th, the wind being at west, I stood in for the land, in order to get some supplies. We lay to or stood on and off during the next few days, trading with the natives, but got a very scanty supply.

At daybreak on the 16th, seeing the appearance of a bay, I sent Mr. Bligh with a boat from each ship to examine it, being at this time three leagues off. Canoes now began to arrive from all parts, so that before ten o'clock there were not fewer than a thousand about the two ships, most of them crowded with people, and well-laden with hogs and other productions of the island. We had the most satisfying proof of their friendly intentions, for we did not see a single person who had with him a weapon of any sort ; trade and curiosity alone had brought them off. Among such numbers as we had at that time on board, it is no wonder that some should betray a thievish disposition. One of our visitors took out of the ship a boat's rudder, and was discovered, but too late to recover it. I thought this a good opportunity to show these people the use of firearms, and two or three muskets, and as many 4-pounders, were fired over the canoe which carried off the rudder ; as it was not intended that any of the shot should take effect, the surrounding multitude of natives seemed rather more surprised than frightened. In the evening Mr. Bligh returned, and reported that he had

found a bay in which was good anchorage and fresh water in a situation tolerably easy of access. Into this bay I resolved to carry the ships, there to refit and supply ourselves with every refreshment that the place could afford. As night approached, the greater part of our visitors retired to the shore, but numbers of them requested our permission to sleep on board. Curiosity was not the only motive, at least with some, for the next morning several things were missing, which determined me not to entertain so many another night. At eleven o'clock in the forenoon we anchored in a bay which is called by the natives Karakakooa, in thirteen fathoms of water, and about a quarter of a mile from the north-east shore. The ships continued to be much crowded with natives, and were surrounded by a multitude of canoes. I had nowhere in the course of my voyages seen so numerous a body of people assembled at one place, for, besides those who had come off to us in canoes, all the shore of the bay was covered with spectators, and many hundreds were swimming round the ships like shoals of fish. We could not but be struck with the singularity of this scene, and perhaps there were few on board who now lamented our having failed in our endeavours to find a northern passage homeward last summer. In this disappointment we owed our having it in our power to revisit the Sandwich Islands, and to enrich our voyage with a discovery which, though the last, seemed in many respects to be the most important that had hitherto been made by Europeans throughout the extent of the Pacific Ocean.

Captain Cook had now come to the end of his labours, and owing to his murder in Karakakooa Bay within a few weeks of his arrival, his journal ceases at this point. The remaining transactions of the voyage are related by Captain King.

Karakakooa Bay is situated on the west side of the island of Owhyhee, in a district called Akona. It is about a mile in depth, and bounded by the low points of land distant half a league from each other. On the north point, which is flat and barren, stands the village of Kowrowa, and in the bottom of the bay, near a grove of tall cocoa-nut trees, there

is another village of a more considerable size, called Kakooa; between them runs a high rocky cliff, inaccessible from the sea-shore. On the south side the coast, for about a mile inland, has a rugged appearance, beyond which the country rises with a gradual ascent, and is overspread with cultivated enclosures and groves of cocoa-nut trees, where the habitations of the natives are scattered in great numbers. The shore all round the bay is covered with a black coral rock, which makes the landing very dangerous in rough weather, except at the village of Kakooa, where there is a fine sandy beach with a morai, or burying-place, at one extremity, and a small well of fresh water at the other. This bay appearing to Captain Cook a proper place to refit the ships and lay in an additional supply of water and provisions, we moored on the north side, about a quarter of a mile from the shore.

As soon as the inhabitants perceived our intention of anchoring in the bay they came off from the shore in astonishing numbers, and expressed their joy by singing and shouting, and exhibiting a variety of wild and extravagant gestures. The sides of the decks and rigging of both ships were soon completely covered with them, and a multitude of women and boys, who had not been able to get canoes, came swimming round us in shoals; many of them not finding room on board, remained the whole day playing in the water.

Among the chiefs who came on board the *Resolution* was a young man called Pareea, whom we soon perceived to be a person of great authority. On presenting himself to Captain Cook, he told him that he was a jackanee to the king of the island, who was at that time engaged in a military expedition at Mowee, and was expected to return within three or four days. A few presents from Captain Cook attached him entirely to our interests, and he became exceedingly useful to us in the management of his countrymen, as we had soon occasion to experience; for we had not been long at anchor when it was observed that the *Discovery* had such a number of people hanging on one side, as occasioned her to heel considerably, and that the men were unable to keep off the crowds which continued pressing into her. Captain Cook being apprehensive that she might suffer some injury, pointed

out the danger to Pareea, who immediately sent to their assistance, cleared the ship of its encumbrance, and drove away the canoes that surrounded her. The authority of the chief over the inferior people appeared from this incident to be of the most despotic kind. A similar instance of it happened the same day on board the *Resolution*, when the crowd being so great as to impede the necessary duties of the ship, we were obliged to have recourse to the assistance of Kaneena, another of their chiefs, who had likewise attached himself to Captain Cook. The inconvenience we laboured under being made known, he immediately ordered his countrymen to quit the vessel, and we were not a little surprised to see them jump overboard, without a moment's hesitation, all except one man, who, loitering behind and showing some unwillingness to obey, Kaneena took him up in his arms and threw him into the sea. Both these chiefs were men of strong and well-proportioned bodies, and of countenances remarkably pleasing. Kaneena especially, whose portrait was drawn by Mr. Webber, was one of the finest men I ever saw. He was about six feet high, had regular and expressive features, with lively, dark eyes, and his carriage was easy, firm, and graceful.

It has been already mentioned, that during our long cruise near this island the inhabitants had always behaved with fairness and honesty in their dealings, and had not shown the slightest propensity to theft, which appeared to us the more extraordinary because those with whom we had hitherto held any intercourse were of the lowest rank, either servants or fishermen. We now found the case exceedingly altered; the immense crowd of islanders, which blocked up every part of the ships, not only afforded frequent opportunity of pilfering, without risk of discovery, but our numerical inferiority held forth a prospect of escaping with impunity, in case of detection. Another circumstance, to which we attributed this alteration in their behaviour, was the presence and encouragement of their chiefs; for, generally tracing the booty into the possession of some men of consequence, we had the strongest reason to suspect that these depredations were committed at their instigation.

Soon after the *Resolution* had got into her station, our two friends, Pareea and Kaneena, brought on board a third chief, named Koah, who, we were told, was a priest, and had been in his youth a distinguished warrior. He was a little old man, of an emaciated figure, his eyes exceedingly sore and red, and his body covered with a white leprous scurf, the effects of an immoderate use of the ava. Being led into the cabin, he approached Captain Cook with great veneration, and threw over his shoulders a piece of red cloth, which he had brought along with him; then, stepping a few paces back, he made an offering of a small pig, which he held in his hand whilst he pronounced a discourse, that lasted for a considerable time. This ceremony was frequently repeated during our stay at Owhyhee, and appeared to us, from many circumstances, to be a sort of religious adoration. Their idols we found always arrayed with red cloth, in the same manner as was done to Captain Cook, and a small pig was their usual offering to the Eatooas. Their speeches, or prayers, were uttered, too, with a readiness and volubility that indicated them to be according to some formulary. When this ceremony was over, Koah dined with Captain Cook, eating plentifully of what was set before him, but, like the rest of the inhabitants of the islands in these seas, could scarcely be prevailed on to taste, a second time, our wine or spirits. In the evening, Captain Cook, attended by Mr. Bayley and myself, accompanied him on shore. We landed at the beach, and were received by four men, who carried wands tipped with dogs' hair, and marched before us, pronouncing, with a loud voice, a short sentence, in which we could only distinguish the word "Orono."\* Captain

\* Mr. S. S. Hill, in his "Travels in the Sandwich and Society Islands," says that the natives call Captain Cook "Lono," and entertain the greatest veneration for his memory. It appears that, at the time of Cook's visit, there were traditions among the people concerning the life and actions of some wonderful person named Lono, who had long since suddenly disappeared—supposed to be blown off the coast in his canoe—but who, it was believed, would one day reappear. Though several generations had passed away, Captain Cook was supposed to be this Lono; and, though their god or hero was transformed to a white man, accompanied by men of another race as his subjects, and without any recollection of his former language, yet the supernatural resuscitation and return of their hero gave rise to no inquiry or surprise.

Cook generally went by this name amongst the natives of Owhyhee, but we could never learn its precise meaning ; sometimes they applied it to an invisible being, who, they said, lived in the heavens ; and we also found that it was a title belonging to a personage of great rank or power in the island. The crowd which had been collected on the shore retired at our approach, and not a person was to be seen, except a few lying prostrate on the ground, near the huts of the adjoining village.

Before I proceed to relate the adoration that was paid to Captain Cook, and the peculiar ceremonies with which he was received on this fatal island, it will be necessary to describe the morai, situated, as I have already mentioned, at the south side of the beach at Kakooa. It was a square, solid pile of stones, about forty yards long, twenty broad, and fourteen in height ; the top was flat and well paved, and surrounded by a wooden rail, on which were fixed the skulls of the captives sacrificed on the death of their chiefs. In the centre of the area stood a ruinous old building of wood, connected with the rail on each side by a stone wall, which divided the whole space into two parts. On the side next the country were five poles, upwards of twenty feet high, supporting an irregular kind of scaffold ; and on the opposite side, toward the sea, stood two small houses with a covered communication. We were conducted by Koah to the top of this pile by an easy ascent, leading from the beach to the north-west corner of the area. At the entrance we saw two large wooden images, with features violently distorted, and a long piece of carved wood, of a conical form inverted, rising from the top of their heads ; the rest was without form, and wrapped round with red cloth. We were here met by a tall young man with a long beard, who presented Captain Cook to the images, and, after chanting a kind of hymn, in which he was joined by Koah, they led us to that end of the morai where the five poles were fixed. At the foot of them were twelve images ranged in a semicircular form, and before the middle figure stood a high stand or table, exactly resembling the "whatta" of Otaheite, on which lay a putrid hog, and under it pieces of sugar-cane, cocoa-nuts, bread-fruit, plantains,

and sweet potatoes. Koah having placed the captain under this stand, took down the hog, and held it towards him ; and after having a second time addressed him in a long speech, pronounced with much vehemence and rapidity, he let it fall to the ground, and led him to the scaffolding, which they began to climb together, not without great risk of falling. At this time we saw coming in solemn procession, at the entrance of the top of the morai, two men carrying a live hog and a large piece of red cloth ; having advanced a few paces, they stopped and prostrated themselves, and Kaireেকেea, the young man above mentioned, went to them and received the cloth, carried it to Koah, who wrapped it round the captain, and afterwards offered him the hog, which was brought by Kaireেকেea with the same ceremony.

Whilst Captain Cook was aloft in this awkward situation, swathed round with red cloth, and with difficulty keeping his hold amongst the pieces of rotten scaffolding, Kaireেকেea and Koah began their office, chanting sometimes in concert, and sometimes alternately. This lasted a considerable time, until at length Koah let the hog drop, when he and the captain descended together. He then led him to the images before mentioned, and having said something to each in a sneering tone, snapping his fingers at them as he passed, he brought him to that in the centre, which, from its being covered with red cloth, appeared to be held in greater estimation than the rest. Before this figure he prostrated himself and kissed it, desiring Captain Cook to do the same, who suffered himself to be directed by Koah throughout the whole of this ceremony. We were now led back into the other division of the morai, where there was a space, ten or twelve feet square, sunk about three feet below the level of the area ; into this we descended, and Captain Cook was seated between the wooden idols, Koah supporting one of his arms, whilst I was desired to support the other. At this time arrived a second procession of natives, carrying a baked hog and a pudding, some bread-fruit, cocoa-nuts, and other vegetables. When they approached us, Kaireেকেea put himself at their head, and presenting the pig to Captain Cook in the usual manner, began the kind of chant as before, his

companions making regular responses. We observed that, after every response, their parts became gradually shorter, till, toward the close, Kaireekkea's consisted of only two or three words, which the rest answered by the word Orono.

When this offering was concluded, which lasted a quarter of an hour, the natives sat down fronting us, and began to cut up the baked hog, to peel the vegetables, and break the cocoa-nuts; whilst others employed themselves in brewing the ava, which is done by chewing it, in the same manner as at the Friendly Islands. Kaireekkea then took part of the kernel of a cocoa-nut, which he chewed, and, wrapping it in a piece of cloth, rubbed with it the captain's face, head, hands, arms, and shoulders. The ava was then handed round, and after we had tasted it, Koah and Pareca began to pull the flesh of the hog in pieces, and to put it into our mouths. I had no great objection to being fed by Pareca, who was very cleanly in his person; but Captain Cook, who was served by Koah, recollecting the putrid hog, could not swallow a morsel, and his reluctance, as may be supposed, was not diminished, when the old man, according to his own mode of civility, had chewed it for him. When this last ceremony was finished, which Captain Cook put an end to as soon as he decently could, he quitted the morai, after distributing amongst the people some pieces of iron and other trifles, with which they seemed highly gratified. The men with wands conducted us to the boats, repeating the same words as before; the people again retired, and the few that remained prostrated themselves as we passed along the shore. We immediately went on board, our minds full of what we had seen, and extremely well satisfied with the good disposition of our new friends. The meaning of the various ceremonies with which we had been received, and which, on account of their novelty and singularity, have been related at length, can only be the subject of conjectures, and those uncertain and partial; they were, however, without doubt, expressive of high respect on the part of the natives, and, as far as related to the person of Captain Cook, they seemed approaching to adoration.

. The next morning I went on shore, with a guard of eight



marines, including the corporal and lieutenant, having orders to erect the observatory on the most suitable spot for superintending and protecting the waterers and the other working parties that were to be on shore. As we were viewing a spot conveniently situated for this purpose in the middle of the village, Pareea, who was always ready to show his power and his goodwill, offered to pull down some houses that would have obstructed our observations; however, we thought it proper to decline this offer, and fixed on a field of sweet potatoes, adjoining the morai, which was readily granted to us; and the priests, to prevent the intrusion of the natives, immediately consecrated the place by fixing their wands round the wall by which it was enclosed. This sort of religious interdiction they call "taboo,"\* a word we heard often repeated during our stay amongst these islanders, and found to be of very powerful and extensive operation, and it procured us even more privacy than we desired. No canoes ever presumed to land near us; the natives sat on the wall, but none offered to come within the tabooed space till we had obtained our permission.

But though the men, at our request, would come across the field with provisions, yet not all our endeavours could prevail on the women to approach us. Presents were tried, but without effect; and Pareea and Koah were tempted to bring them, but in vain, as we were invariably answered that the Eatooa and Terreeoboo,† which was the name of their

\* This word "taboo," which, as we have seen, is in use both in the Friendly and Sandwich Islands, has been Anglicised; and to taboo a thing is to forbid or interdict it.

† At this time Kalamhopun reigned in Owhyhee, and at his death, three years later, the eastern portion of the island fell to the share of his son Kiwalao, and the western to his son Kamchameha, who became, subsequently, the most famous warrior and king whose deeds are recorded in the native annals. In a great battle he defeated and slew his brother, and reigned over the whole island. The other chief incidents in the history of these islands are:—The visit of the unfortunate La Pérouse, who anchored with his two frigates, in the straits between Mowee and Molokoi, on the 28th of May, 1786; the visit to Karakakooa Bay of Vancouver, with the ships *Discovery* and *Chatham*, on the 3rd of March, 1792; and again in the following year, and in January, 1794; the subjection of the entire group by King Kamchameha, with the assistance of two British seamen, Young and Davis; the death of the king, in 1819, at the age of sixty-six; the arrival of the first Protestant missionary, in 1820; the visit of the young

king, would kill them. This circumstance afforded no small matter of amusement to our friends on board, where the crowds of people, and particularly of women, that continued to flock thither obliged them almost every hour to clear the vessel, in order to have room to do the necessary duties of the ship. On these occasions two or three hundred women were frequently made to jump into the water at once, where they continued swimming and playing about till they could again procure admittance.

From the 19th to the 24th, when Pareea and Koah left us to attend Terrecoboo, who had landed on some other part of the island, nothing very material happened on board. The caulkers were set to work on the sides of the ships, and the rigging was carefully overhauled and repaired. The salting of hogs, for sea store, was also one of the principal objects of Captain Cook's attention, and met with complete success.

We had not long been settled on shore at the observatory before we discovered, in our neighbourhood, the habitations of a society of priests, whose regular attendance at this morai had excited our curiosity. Their huts stood round a pond of water, and were surrounded by a grove of coconut trees, which separated them from the beach and the rest of the village, and gave the place an air of religious retirement. On my acquainting Captain Cook with these circumstances, he resolved to pay them a visit, and as he expected to be received in the same manner as before, he brought Mr. Webber with him to make a drawing of the ceremony. On his arrival at the beach, he was conducted to a sacred building called Harre-no-Orono, or the house of Orono, and seated before the entrance at the foot of a wooden idol, of the same kind with those in the morai. I was here again made to support one of his arms, and, after wrapping him in red cloth, Kaireekaea, accompanied by twelve priests, made an

king Kamehameha the Second to England, in 1824, and his death, and that of his queen, in London; the establishment of the Roman Catholic mission, in 1827; the adoption of a constitutional form of government by King Kamehameha the Third, in 1840; and the recognition of the independence of the islands by the governments of Queen Victoria and Louis Philippe, in 1843.

offering of a pig with the usual solemnities. The pig was then strangled, and a fire being kindled, it was thrown into the embers, and after the hair was singed off, it was again presented with a repetition of the chanting, in the manner before described. The dead pig was then held for a short time under the captain's nose, after which it was laid with a cocoa-nut at his feet, and the performers sat down. The *ava* was then brewed and handed round ; a fat hog, ready dressed, was brought in, and we here fed as before.

During the rest of the time we remained in the bay, whenever Captain Cook came on shore he was attended by one of these priests, who went before him, giving notice that the *Orono* had landed, and ordering the people to prostrate themselves. The same person also constantly accompanied him on the water, standing in the bow of the boat, with a wand in his hand, and giving notice of his approach to the natives, who were in canoes, on which they immediately left off paddling and lay down on their faces till he had passed. Whenever we stopped at the observatory, *Kaireekeea* and his brethren immediately made their appearance with hogs, cocoa-nuts, bread-fruit, &c., and presented them with the usual solemnities. It was on these occasions that some of the interior chiefs frequently requested to be permitted to make an offering to the *Orono* ; when this was granted, they presented the hog themselves, generally with evident marks of fear in their countenances, whilst *Kaireekeea* and the priests chanted their accustomed hymns.

The civilities of this society were not, however, confined to mere ceremony and parade. Our party on shore received from them, every day, a constant supply of hogs and vegetables, more than sufficient for our subsistence, and several canoes, loaded with provisions, were sent to the ships with the same punctuality. No return was ever demanded or even hinted at in the most distant manner. Their presents were made with a regularity more like the discharge of a religious duty than the effort of mere liberality ; and when we inquired at whose charge all this munificence was displayed, we were told it was at the expense of a great man called *Kaoo*, the chief of the priests, and grandfather of

Kaireekcea, who was at that time absent, attending the king of the island.

As everything relating to the character and behaviour of this people must be interesting to the reader, on account of the tragedy that was afterwards acted here, it will be proper to acquaint him that we had not always so much reason to be satisfied with the conduct of the warrior chiefs, or Earees, as with that of the priests. In all our dealings with the former we found them sufficiently attentive to their own interests; and besides their habit of stealing, which may admit of some excuse from the universality of the practice amongst the islanders of these seas, they made use of other artifices equally dishonourable.

Things continued in this state till the 24th, when we were a good deal surprised to find that no canoes were suffered to put off from the shore, and that the natives kept close to their houses. After several hours' suspense, we learned that the bay was tabooed, and all intercourse with us interdicted on account of the arrival of Terreeboo. As we had not foreseen an accident of this sort, the crews of both ships were obliged to pass the day without their usual supply of vegetables. The next morning, therefore, they endeavoured, both by threats and promises, to induce the natives to come alongside, and, as some of them were at last venturing to come off, a chief was observed attempting to drive them away. A musket was immediately fired over his head to make him desist, which had the desired effect, and supplies were soon after purchased as usual. In the afternoon, Terreeboo arrived, and visited the ships in a private manner, attended only by one canoe, in which were his wife and children. He stayed on board till near ten o'clock, when he returned to the village of Kowrowa.

The next day, about noon, the king, in a large canoe, attended by two others, set out from the village, and paddled towards the ships in great state, presenting a striking appearance. In the first canoe was Terreeboo and his chiefs, dressed in their rich feathered cloaks and helmets, and armed with long spears and daggers; in the second canoe the venerable Kaoo, the chief of the priests,

and his brethren, with their idols displayed on red cloth. These idols were busts of a gigantic size, made of wicker-work, and curiously covered with small feathers of various colours, wrought in the same manner as their cloaks; their eyes were made of large pearl oysters, with a black nut fixed in the centre, and their mouths were set with a double row of the fangs of dogs, and, together with the rest of their features, were strangely distorted. The third canoe was filled with hogs and various sorts of vegetables. As they went along, the priests in the centre canoe sung their hymns with great solemnity, and, after paddling round the ships, instead of going on board, as was expected, they made towards the shore at the beach where we were stationed. As soon as I saw them approaching, I ordered out our little guard to receive the king; and Captain Cook, perceiving that he was going on shore, followed him, and arrived nearly at the same time. We conducted them into the tent, where they had scarcely been seated, when the king rose up, and, in a very graceful manner, threw over the captain's shoulders the cloak he himself wore, put a feathered helmet upon his head and a curious fan into his hand. He also spread at his feet five or six other cloaks, all exceedingly beautiful, and of the greatest value. His attendants then brought four very large hogs, with sugar-canes, cocoa-nuts, and bread-fruit; and this part of the ceremony was concluded by the king's exchanging names with Captain Cook, which, amongst all the islanders of the Pacific Ocean, is esteemed the strongest pledge of friendship. A procession of priests, with a venerable old personage at their head, now appeared, followed by a long train of men leading large hogs, and others with plantains, sweet potatoes, and other articles of food. By the looks and gestures of Kaireekkea, I immediately knew the old man to be the chief of the priests before mentioned, on whose bounty we had so long subsisted. He had a piece of red cloth in his hands, which he wrapped round Captain Cook's shoulders, and afterwards presented him with a small pig in the usual form. A seat was then made for him next to the king, after which Kaireekkea and his

followers began their ceremonies, Kaoo and the chiefs joining in the responses.

I was surprised to see, in the person of this king, the same infirm and emaciated old man that came on board the *Resolution* when we were off the north-east side of the island of Mowee, and we soon discovered amongst his attendants most of the persons who, at that time, had remained with us all night. Of this number were the two younger sons of the king, the eldest of whom was sixteen years of age, and his nephew Maiha-Maiha, whom at first we had some difficulty in recollecting, his hair being plastered over with a dirty brown paste and powder, which was no mean heightening to the most savage face I ever beheld. As soon as the formalities of the meeting were over, Captain Cook carried Terreeoboo, and as many chiefs as the pinnacle would hold, on board the *Resolution*. They were received with every mark of respect that could be shown them. And Captain Cook, in return for the feathered cloaks, put a linen shirt on the king and girt his own hanger round him. Kaoo and about half a dozen old chiefs remained on shore, and took up their abode at the priests' houses. During all this time not a canoe was seen in the bay, and the natives either kept within their huts, or lay prostrate on the ground. Before the king left the *Resolution*, Captain Cook obtained leave for the natives to come and trade with the ships as usual ; but the women, for what reason we could not learn, still continued under the effects of the taboo.

The quiet and inoffensive behaviour of the natives having taken away every apprehension of danger, we did not hesitate to trust ourselves amongst them at all times and in all situations. The officers of both ships went daily up the country in small parties, or even singly, and frequently remained out the whole night. It would be endless to recount all the instances of kindness and civility which we received upon these occasions ; wherever we went the people flocked about us, eager to offer any assistance in their power, and highly gratified if their services were accepted. Various little arts were practised to attract our notice, or to delay our departure. The boys and girls ran before us as we walked through the

villages, and stopped us at every opening where there was room to form a group for dancing. At one time we were wanted to accept a draught of cocoa-nut milk, or some other refreshment, under the shade of their huts; at another we were seated within a circle of young women, who exerted their skill and agility to amuse us with songs and dances.

The satisfaction we derived from their gentleness and hospitality was, however, frequently interrupted by the propensity to stealing which they have in common with all the other islanders of these seas. This circumstance was the more distressing as it sometimes obliged us to have recourse to acts of severity, which we would willingly have avoided if the necessity of the case had not absolutely called for them. Some of their most expert swimmers were one day discovered under the ships, drawing out the filling-nails of the sheathing, which they performed very dexterously, by means of a short stick with a flint stone fixed in the end of it. To put a stop to this practice, which endangered the very existence of the vessels, we at first fired small shot at the offenders, but they easily got out of our reach by diving under the ship's bottom; it was therefore found necessary to make an example by flogging one of them on board the *Discovery*.

About this time a large party of gentlemen, from both ships, set out on an excursion into the interior of the country, with a view of examining its natural productions; and it afforded Kaoo a fresh opportunity of showing his attention and generosity, for as soon as he was informed of their departure he sent a large supply of provisions after them, together with orders that the inhabitants of the country through which they were to pass should give them every assistance in their power; and, to complete the delicacy and disinterestedness of his conduct, even the people we employed could not be prevailed on to accept the smallest present. After remaining out six days our officers returned, without having been able to penetrate above twenty miles into the island, partly from want of proper guides and partly from the impracticability of the country.

The head of the *Resolution's* rudder being found on

ceedingly shaken, and most of the pintles either loose or broken, it was unhung, and taken on shore on the 27th to undergo a thorough repair. At the same time the carpenters were sent into the country, under conduct of some of Kaoo's people, to cut planks for the head-railwork, which was also entirely decayed and rotten. On the 28th Captain Clerke, whose ill-health confined him for the most part on board, paid Terreeboo his first visit at his hut on shore. He was received with the same formalities as were observed towards Captain Cook; and on his coming away, though the visit was quite unexpected, he received a present of thirty large hogs, and as much fruit and roots as his crew could consume in a week.

As we had not seen anything of their sports or athletic exercises, the natives, at the request of some of our officers, entertained us this evening with a boxing match. Though these games were much inferior, as well in point of solemnity and magnificence as in the skill and prowess of the combatants, to what we had seen exhibited at the Friendly Islands, yet, as they differed in some particulars, it may not be improper to give a short account of them. We found a vast concourse of people assembled on a level spot of ground, at a little distance from our tents. A long space was left vacant in the midst of them, at the upper end of which sat the judges under three standards, from which hung slips of cloth of various colours, the skins of wild geese, & few small birds, and bunches of feathers. When the sports were ready to begin the signal was given by the judges, and immediately two combatants appeared. They came forward slowly, lifting up their feet very high behind, and drawing their hands along the soles. As they approached they frequently eyed each other from head to foot in a contemptuous manner, casting several arch looks at the spectators, straining their muscles, and using a variety of affected gestures. Being advanced within reach of each other, they stood with both arms held out straight before their faces, at which part all their blows were aimed. They struck in what appeared to our eyes an awkward manner, with a full swing of the arm; made no attempt to parry, but eluded their adversary's attack by an



inclination of the body, or by retreating. The battle was quickly decided, for if either of them was knocked down, or even fell by accident, he was considered as vanquished, and the victor expressed his triumph by a variety of gestures, which usually excited, as was intended, a loud laugh among the spectators. He then waited for a second antagonist, and if again victorious, for a third, till he was at last in his turn defeated. A singular rule observed in these combats is, that whilst any two are preparing to fight, a third person may step in, and choose either of them for his antagonist, when the other is obliged to withdraw. Sometimes three or four followed each other in this manner before the match was settled. When the combat proved longer than usual, or appeared too unequal, one of the chiefs generally stepped in, and ended it by putting a stick between the combatants. The same good-humour was preserved throughout which we before so much admired in the Friendly Islanders. As these games were given at our desire, we found it universally expected that we should have borne our part in them ; but our people, though much pressed by the natives, turned a deaf ear to their challenge, remembering full well the blows they got at the Friendly Islands.

This day died William Watman, a seaman of the gunner's crew, an event which I mention the more particularly, as death had hitherto been very rare amongst us. He was an old man, and much respected on account of his attachment to Captain Cook. He had formerly served as a marine twenty-one years ; after which he entered as a seaman on board the *Resolution* in 1772, and served with Captain Cook in his voyage towards the South Pole. On their return, he was admitted into Greenwich Hospital through the captain's interest, at the same time with himself ; and being resolved to follow throughout the fortunes of his benefactor, he also quitted it along with him on his being appointed to the command of the present expedition.

At the request of the king of the island, he was buried on the morai, and the ceremony was performed with as much solemnity as our situation permitted. Old Kao and his brethren were spectators, and preserved the most profound

silence and attention whilst the service was reading. When we began to fill up the grave, they approached it with great reverence, threw in a dead pig, some cocoa-nuts, and plantains ; and, for three nights afterwards, they surrounded it, sacrificing hogs, and performing their usual ceremonies of hymns and prayers, which continued till daybreak. At the head of the grave we erected a post, and nailed upon it a square piece of board, on which was inscribed the name of the deceased, his age, and the day of his death. This they promised not to remove ; and we have no doubt but that it will be suffered to remain as long as the frail materials of which it is made will permit.

The ships being in great want of fuel, Captain Cook desired me, on the 2nd of February, to treat with the priests for the purchase of the rail that surrounded the top of the morai. I must confess I had at first some doubt about the decency of this proposal, and was apprehensive that even the bare mention of it might be considered by them as a piece of shocking impiety.

In this, however, I found myself mistaken ; not the smallest surprise was expressed at the application, and the wood was readily given, even without stipulating for anything in return. Whilst the sailors were taking it away, I observed one of them carrying off a carved image ; and, on further inquiry, I found that they had conveyed to the boats the whole semicircle. Though this was done in the presence of the natives, who had not shown any mark of resentment at it, but had even assisted them in the removal, I thought it proper to speak to Kaoo on the subject, who appeared very indifferent about the matter, and only desired that we would restore the centre image I have mentioned before, which he carried into one of the priest's houses.

Terreeoboo and his chiefs had for some days past been very inquisitive about the time of our departure. This circumstance had excited in me a great curiosity to know what opinion this people had formed of us, and what were their ideas respecting the cause and objects of our voyage. I took some pains to satisfy myself on these points, but could never learn anything further than that they imagined we came

from some country where provisions had failed, and that our visit to them was merely for the purpose of filling our bellies ; indeed, the meagre appearance of some of our crew, the hearty appetites with which we sat down to their fresh provisions, and our great anxiety to purchase as much as we were able, led them naturally enough to such a conclusion. To these may be added a circumstance which puzzled them exceedingly, our having no women with us, together with our quiet conduct and unwarlike appearance. It was ridiculous enough to see them stroking the sides, and patting the bellies of the sailors, who were certainly much improved in the sleekness of their looks during our short stay on the island, and telling them, partly by signs, and partly by words, that it was time for them to go ; but if they would come again the next bread-fruit season, they should be better able to supply their wants.

We had now been sixteen days in the bay ; and if our enormous consumption of hogs and vegetables be considered, it need not be wondered that they should wish to see us take our leave. It is very probable, however, that Terrecoboo had no other view in his inquiries at present than a desire of making sufficient preparation for dismissing us with presents suitable to the respect and kindness with which he had received us ; for, on our telling him we should leave the island on the next day but one, we observed that a sort of proclamation was immediately made through the villages to require the people to bring in their hogs and vegetables, for the king to present to the Orono on his departure.

We were this day much diverted, at the beach, by the buffooneries of one of the natives. His style of dancing was entirely burlesque, and accompanied with strange grimaces and pantomimical distortions of the face, which, though at times inexpressibly ridiculous, yet, on the whole, was without much meaning or expression. In the evening, we were again entertained with wrestling and boxing matches, and we displayed in return the few fireworks we had left. Nothing could be better calculated to excite the admiration of these islanders, and to impress them with an idea of our great superiority, than an exhibition of this kind.

The carpenters from both ships having been sent up the country to cut planks for the head-railwork of the *Resolution*, this being the third day since their departure, we began to be very anxious for their safety. We now communicated our apprehensions to old Kaoo, who appeared as much concerned as ourselves, and were concerting measures with him for sending after them, when they arrived in safety. They had been obliged to go farther into the country than was expected, before they met with trees fit for their purpose ; and it was this circumstance, together with the badness of the roads and the difficulty of bringing back the timber, which had detained them so long. They spoke in high terms of their guides, who both supplied them with provisions, and guarded their tools with the utmost fidelity. The next day being fixed for our departure, Terreeoboo invited Captain Cook and myself to attend him on the 3rd to the place where Kaoo resided. On our arrival, we found the ground covered with parcels of cloth, a vast quantity of red and yellow feathers tied to the fibres of cocoa-nut husks, and a great number of hatchets and other pieces of iron-ware that had been got in barter from us. At a little distance from these lay an immense quantity of vegetables of every kind, and near them was a large herd of hogs. At first, we imagined the whole to be intended as a present for us, till Kaireckeea informed me that it was a gift or tribute from the people of that district to the king ; and accordingly, as we were seated, they brought all the bundles and laid them severally at Terreeoboo's feet, spreading out the cloth and displaying the feathers and iron-ware before him. The king seemed much pleased with this mark of their duty ; and having selected about a third part of the iron-ware, the same proportion of feathers, and a few pieces of cloth, these were set aside by themselves, and the remainder of the cloth, together with all the hogs and vegetables, were afterwards presented to Captain Cook and myself. We were astonished at the value and magnitude of this present, which exceeded everything of the kind we had seen either at the Friendly or Society Islands. Boats were immediately sent to carry them on board ; the large hogs were picked

out to be salted for sea store, and upwards of thirty smaller pigs and the vegetables were divided between the two crews.

The same day we quitted the morai and got the tents and astronomical instruments on board. The charm of the taboo was now removed, and we had no sooner left the place, than the natives rushed in and searched eagerly about, in expectation of finding something of value that we might have left behind. As I happened to remain the last on shore, and waited for the return of the boat, several came crowding round me, and having made me sit down by them, began to lament our separation.

It was, indeed, not without difficulty I was able to quit them. Having had the command of the party on shore during the whole time we were in the bay, I had an opportunity of becoming better acquainted with the natives, and of being better known to them, than those whose duty required them to be generally on board. As I had every reason to be satisfied with their kindness in general, so I cannot too often nor too particularly mention the unbounded and constant friendship of their priests. On my part I spared no endeavours to conciliate their affections and gain their esteem; and I had the good fortune to succeed so far, that, when the time of our departure was made known, I was strongly solicited to remain behind, not without offers of the most flattering kind. When I excused myself by saying that Captain Cook would not give his consent, they proposed that I should retire into the mountains, where they said they would conceal me till after the departure of the ships, and on my further assuring them that the captain would not leave the bay without me, Terreeoboo and Kaou waited upon Captain Cook, whose son they supposed I was, with a formal request that I might be left behind. The captain, to avoid giving a positive refusal to an offer so kindly intended, told them that he could not part with me at that time, but that he should return to the island next year and would then endeavour to settle the matter to their satisfaction.

Early in the morning of the 4th of February we unmoored and sailed out of the bay, with the *Discovery* in company, and were followed by a great number of canoes. Captain

Cook's design was to finish the survey of Owhyhee before we visited the other islands, in hopes of meeting with a road better sheltered than the bay we had just left ; and in case of not succeeding here, he purposed to take a view of the south-east part of Mowee, where the natives informed us we should find an excellent harbour. We had calm weather all this and the following day, which made our progress to the northward very slow. We were accompanied by a great number of these natives in their canoes, and Terreeboo gave a fresh proof of his friendship to Captain Cook by a large present of hogs and vegetables that was sent after him.

In the night of the 5th, having a light breeze off the land, we made some way to the northward, and in the morning of the 6th, having passed the westernmost point of the island, we found ourselves abreast of a deep bay called by the natives Toe-yah-yah. We had great hopes that this bay would furnish us with a commodious harbour, as we saw several fine streams of water, and the whole had the appearance of being well sheltered. These observations agreeing with the accounts given us by Koah, who accompanied Captain Cook, and had changed his name, out of compliment to us, into Britannee, the pinnacle was hoisted out, and the master, with Britannee for his guide, was sent to examine the bay, whilst the ships worked up after them. In the afternoon the weather became gloomy, and the gusts of wind that blew off the land were so violent as to make it necessary to take in all the sails and bring to under the mizzen staysail. All the canoes left us at the beginning of the gale ; and Mr. Bligh, on his return, had the satisfaction of saving an old woman and two men whose canoe had been upset by the violence of the wind, as they were endeavouring to gain the shore. Besides these distressed people, we had a great many women on board whom the natives had left behind, in their hurry to shift for themselves.

In the evening, the weather being more moderate, we again made sail ; but about midnight it blew so violently as to split both the fore and main-topsails. On the morning of the 7th we bent fresh sails, and had fair weather and a light breeze at noon. We were four or five leagues from the shore,

and as the weather was very unsettled none of the canoes would venture out, so that our guests were obliged to remain with us, much indeed to their dissatisfaction, for they were all sea-sick, and many of them had left young children behind them.

In the afternoon, though the weather was still squally, we stood in for the land, and being about three leagues from it, saw a canoe, with two men paddling towards us, who we immediately conjectured had been driven off the shore by the late boisterous weather, and therefore stopped the ship's way in order to take them in. These poor wretches were so exhausted with fatigue that, had not one of the natives on board, observing their weakness, jumped into the canoe to their assistance, they would scarcely have been able to fasten it to the rope we had thrown out for that purpose. It was with difficulty we got them up the ship's side, together with a child about four years old, which they had lashed under the thwarts of the canoe, where it had lain with only its head above water. They told us they had left the shore the morning before, and had been from that time without food or water. The usual precautions were taken in giving them victuals, and the child being committed to the care of the women soon perfectly recovered.

At midnight a gale of wind came on, which obliged us to double-reef the topsails and send down the topgallant yards. On the 8th, at daybreak, we found that the fore-mast had again given way, the fishes\* which were put on the head in King George's or Nootka Sound, on the coast of America, being sprung, and the parts so very defective as to make it absolutely necessary to replace them, and, of course, to unship the mast. In this difficulty Captain Cook was for some time in doubt whether he should run the chance of meeting with a harbour in the islands to leeward or return to Karakakooa. That bay was not so remarkably commodious, in any respect, but that a better might probably be expected,

\* Fish, or fish-piece, is a long piece of hard wood, convex on one side and concave on the other; two are bound opposite to each other to strengthen the lower masts, or the yards, when they are sprung, to effect which they are well secured by bolts and hoops, or stout rope called woolding.

both for the purpose of repairing the masts and for procuring supplies, of which, it was imagined, the neighbourhood of Karakakooa had been already pretty well drained. On the other hand, it was considered as too great a risk to leave a place that was tolerably sheltered, and which, once left, could not be regained, for the mere hope of meeting with a better, the failure of which might perhaps have left us without resource. We therefore continued standing on towards the land, in order to give the natives an opportunity of releasing their friends on board from their confinement ; and at noon, being within a mile of the shore, a few canoes came off to us, but so crowded with people that there was not room in them for any of our guests ; we therefore hoisted out the pinnace to carry them on shore, and the master, who went with them, had directions to examine the south coasts of the bay for water, but returned without finding any. The winds being variable, and a current setting to the northward, we made but little progress in our return ; and at eight o'clock in the evening of the 9th it began to blow very hard from the south-east, which obliged us to close-reef the topsails. At two in the morning of the 10th, in a heavy squall, we found ourselves close in with the breakers that lie to the northward of the west point of Owhyhee ; and we had just room to haul off and avoid them, and fired several guns to apprise the *Discovery* of the danger. In the forenoon the weather was more moderate, and a few canoes came off to us, from which we learnt that the late storms had done much mischief, and that several large canoes had been lost. During the remainder of the day we kept beating about to windward, and before night we were within a mile of the bay ; but not choosing to run in while it was dark, we stood off and on till daylight next morning, when we dropped anchor nearly in the same place as before.

We were employed the whole of the 11th, and part of the 12th, in getting out the fore-mast, and sending it with the carpenters on shore. Besides the damage which the head of the mast had sustained, we found the keel exceedingly rotten, having a large hole up the middle of it, capable of holding four or five cocoa-nuts. It was not, however, thought neces-



sary to shorten it ; and, fortunately, the logs of red toa-wood, which had been cut at Eimeo for anchor-stocks, were found fit to replace the sprung parts of the fishes. As these repairs were likely to take up several days, Mr. Bayley and myself got the astronomical apparatus on shore, and pitched our tents on the morai, having with us a guard of a corporal and six marines. We renewed our friendly correspondence with the priests, who, for the greater security of the workmen and their tools, tabooed the place where the mast lay, sticking their wands round it as before. The sailmakers were also sent on shore to repair the damages which had taken place in their department during the late gales ; they were lodged in a house adjoining the morai, which was lent to us by the priests. Such were our arrangements on shore. Upon coming to anchor, we were surprised to find our reception very different from what it had been on our first arrival ; no shouts, no bustle, no confusion, but a solitary bay, with only here and there a canoe stealing close along the shore. The impulse of curiosity, which had before operated to so great a degree, might now indeed be supposed to have ceased ; but the hospitable treatment we had invariably met with, and the friendly footing on which we parted, gave us reason to expect that they would again have flocked about us with great joy on our return. We were forming various conjectures upon the cause of this extraordinary change, when our anxiety was at length relieved by the return of a boat which had been sent on shore, and brought us word that *Terreeoboo* was absent, and had left the bay under the taboo.

Towards the evening of the 13th, the officer who commanded the watering-party of the *Discovery* came to inform me that several chiefs had assembled at the well near the beach, driving away the natives, whom he had hired to assist the sailors in rolling down the casks to the shore. He told me at the same time that he thought their behaviour extremely suspicious, and that they meant to cause a disturbance. At his request, therefore, I sent a marine along with him, but suffered him to take only his side-arms. In a short time the officer returned, and, on his acquainting me that the islanders had armed themselves with stones, and were

grown very tumultuous, I went myself to the spot, attended by a marine with his musket. Seeing us approach, they threw away their stones, and on my speaking to some of the chiefs, the mob were driven away, and those who chose it were suffered to assist in filling the casks. Having left things quiet here, I went to meet Captain Cook, whom I saw coming on shore in the pinnace. I related to him what had just passed, and he ordered me, in case of their beginning to throw stones or behave insolently, immediately to fire a ball at the offenders. I accordingly gave orders to the corporal to have the pieces of the sentinels loaded with ball, instead of small shot.

Soon after our return to the tents we were alarmed by a continued fire of muskets from the *Discovery*, which we observed to be directed at a canoe that we saw paddling towards the shore in great haste, pursued by one of our small boats. We immediately concluded that the firing was in consequence of some theft, and Captain Cook ordered me to follow him with an armed marine, and to endeavour to seize the people as they came on shore. Accordingly we ran towards the place where we supposed the canoe would land, but were too late, the people having quitted it and made their escape into the country before our arrival. We were at this time ignorant that the goods had been already restored, and as we thought it probable, from the circumstance we had at first observed, that they might be of importance, were unwilling to relinquish our hopes of recovering them. Having therefore inquired of the natives which way the people had fled, we followed them till it was near dark, when, judging ourselves to be about three miles from the tents, and suspecting that the natives, who frequently encouraged us in the pursuit, were amusing us with false information, we thought it in vain to continue our search any longer, and returned to the beach. During our absence a difference of a more serious and unpleasant nature had happened. The officer who had been sent in the small boat, and was returning on board with the goods which had been restored, observing Captain Cook and me engaged in the pursuit of the offenders, thought it his duty to seize the canoe which was left

drawn up on the shore. Unfortunately this canoe belonged to Pareea, who, arriving at the same moment from on board the *Discovery*, claimed his property, with many protestations of his innocence. The officer refusing to give it up, and being joined by the crew of the pinnace, which was waiting for Captain Cook, a scuffle ensued, in which Pareea was knocked down by a violent blow on the head with an oar. The natives who were collected about the spot, and had hitherto been peaceable spectators, immediately attacked our people with such a shower of stones, as forced them to retreat with great precipitation and swim off to a rock at some distance from the shore. The pinnace was immediately ransacked by the islanders, and but for the timely interposition of Pareea, who seemed to have recovered from the blow and forgotten it at the same instant, would soon have been entirely demolished. Having driven away the crowd, he made signs to our people that they might come and take possession of the pinnace, and that he would endeavour to get back the things which had been taken out of it. After their departure he followed them in his canoe, with a midshipman's cap and some other trifling articles of the plunder, and with much apparent concern at what had happened, asked if the Orono would kill him, and whether he would permit him to come on board the next day. On being assured that he would be well received, he joined noses (as their custom is) with the officers, in token of friendship, and paddled over to the village of Kowrowa.

When Captain Cook was informed of what had passed he expressed much uneasiness at it, and said, as we were returning on board, "I am afraid that these people will oblige me to use some violent measures; for they must not be left to imagine that they have gained an advantage over us." However, as it was too late to take any steps this evening, he contented himself with giving orders that every man and woman on board should be immediately turned out of the ship. As soon as this order was executed I returned on shore; and our former confidence in the natives being now much abated by the events of the day, I posted a double guard on the morai, with orders

to call me if they saw any men lurking about the beach. At about eleven o'clock five islanders were observed creeping round the bottom of the morai ; they seemed very cautious in approaching us, and, at last, finding themselves discovered, retired out of sight. About midnight one of them venturing up close to the observatory, the sentinel fired over him, on which the man fled, and we passed the remainder of the night without further disturbance. Next morning at daylight I went on board the *Resolution* for the timekeeper, and on my way was hailed by the *Discovery*, and informed that their cutter had been stolen during the night from the buoy where it was moored.

When I arrived on board I found the marines arming, and Captain Cook loading his double-barrelled gun. Whilst I was relating to him what had happened to us in the night he interrupted me with some eagerness, and acquainted me with the loss of the *Discovery's* cutter, and with the preparations he was making for its recovery. It had been his usual practice, whenever anything of consequence was lost at any of the islands in this ocean, to get the king, or some of the principal erees, on board, and to keep them as hostages till it was restored. This method, which had been always attended with success, he meant to pursue on the present occasion ; and at the same time had given orders to stop all the canoes that should attempt to leave the bay, with an intention of seizing and destroying them if he could not recover the cutter by peaceable means. Accordingly the boats of both ships, well manned and armed, were stationed across the bay, and before I left the ship some great guns had been fired at two large canoes that were attempting to escape. It was between seven and eight o'clock when we quitted the ship together ; Captain Cook in the pinnace, having Mr. Phillips and nine marines with him, and myself in the small boat. The last orders I received from him were to quiet the minds of the natives on our side of the bay, by assuring them they should not be hurt, to keep my people together, and to be on my guard. We then parted : the captain went towards Kowrowa, where the king resided, and I proceeded to the beach. My first care, on going

ashore, was to give strict orders to the marines to remain within the tent, to load their pieces with ball, and not to quit their arms. Afterwards I took a walk to the huts of old Kaoo and the priests, and explained to them, as well as I could, the hostile preparations, which had exceedingly alarmed them. I found that they had already heard of the cutter being stolen, and I assured them that though Captain Cook was resolved to recover it, and to punish the authors of the theft, yet that they, and the people of the village on our side, need not be under the smallest apprehension of suffering any evil from us. I desired the priests to explain this to the people, and to tell them not to be alarmed, but to continue peaceable and quiet. Kaoo asked me, with great earnestness, if Terreeoboo was to be hurt. I assured him he was not, and both he and the rest of his brethren seemed much satisfied with this assurance.

In the meantime Captain Cook, having called off the launch, which was stationed at the north point of the bay, and taken it along with him, proceeded to Kowrowa, and landed with the lieutenant and nine marines. He immediately marched into the village, where he was received with the usual marks of respect, the people prostrating themselves before him, and bringing their accustomed offerings of small hogs. Finding that there was no suspicion of his design, his next step was to inquire for Terreeoboo and the two boys, his sons, who had been his constant guests on board the *Resolution*. In a short time the boys returned along with the natives who had been in search of them, and immediately led Captain Cook to the house where the king had slept, and after a short conversation with him about the loss of the cutter, from which Captain Cook was convinced that he was in nowise privy to it, he invited him to return in the boat and spend the day on board the *Resolution*. To this proposal the king readily assented, and immediately got up to accompany him.

Things were in this prosperous train, the two boys being already in the pinnace, and the rest of the party having advanced near the water-side, when an elderly woman called Kanee-Kabareea, the mother of the boys, and one of the king's favourite wives, came after him, and, with many

tears and entreaties, besought him not to go on board. At the same time, two chiefs, who came along with her, laid hold of him and forced him to sit down. The natives, who were collecting in prodigious numbers along the shore, and had probably been alarmed by the firing of the great guns and the appearance of hostility in the bay, began to throng round Captain Cook and their king. In this situation, the lieutenant of marines observing that his men were huddled close together in the crowd, and thus incapable of using their arms, if any occasion should require it, proposed to the captain to draw them up along the rocks close to the water's edge; and the crowd readily making way for them to pass, they were drawn up in a line, at the distance of about thirty yards from the place where the king was sitting. All this time the old king remained on the ground, with the strongest marks of terror and dejection in his countenance. Captain Cook, not willing to abandon the object for which he had come on shore, continued to urge him in the most pressing manner to proceed; whilst, on the other hand, whenever the king appeared inclined to follow him, the chiefs, who stood round him, interposed, at first with prayers and entreaties, but afterwards with force and violence, insisting on his staying where he was. Captain Cook, therefore, finding that the alarm had spread too generally, and that it was in vain to think any longer of getting the king off without bloodshed, at last gave up the point, observing to Mr. Phillips that it would be impossible to compel him to go on board without the risk of killing a great number of the inhabitants.

Though the enterprise which had carried Captain Cook on shore had now failed, and was abandoned, yet his person did not appear to have been in the least danger till an accident happened, which gave a fatal turn to the affair. The boats which had been stationed across the bay having fired at some canoes that were attempting to get out, unfortunately had killed a chief of the first rank. The news of his death arrived at the village where Captain Cook was, just as he had left the king and was walking slowly towards the shore. The ferment it made was very conspicuous; the women and children were immediately sent

off, and the men put on their war-mats and armed themselves with spears and stones. One of the natives having in his hands a stone and a large iron spike, which they call a pahooa, came up to the captain, flourishing his weapon by way of defiance, and threatening to throw the stone. The captain desired him to desist, but the man persisting in his insolence, he was at length provoked to fire a load of small shot. The man having his mat on, which the shot were not able to penetrate, this had no other effect than to irritate and encourage them. Several stones were thrown at the marines, and one of the erees attempted to stab Mr. Phillips with his pahooa, but failed in the attempt, and received from him a blow with the butt-end of his musket. Captain Cook now fired his second barrel loaded with ball, and killed one of the foremost of the natives. A general attack with stones immediately followed, which was answered by a discharge of musketry from the marines and the people in the boats. The islanders, contrary to the expectations of every one, stood the fire with great firmness, and before the marines had time to reload, they broke in upon them with dreadful shouts and yells. What followed was a scene of the utmost horror and confusion.

Four of the marines were cut off amongst the rocks in their retreat, and fell a sacrifice to the fury of the enemy; three more were dangerously wounded, and the lieutenant, who had received a stab between the shoulders with a pahooa, having fortunately reserved his fire, shot the man who had wounded him just as he was going to repeat his blow. Our unfortunate commander, the last time he was seen distinctly, was standing at the water's edge, and calling out to the boats to cease firing and to pull in. Whilst he faced the natives none of them had offered him any violence, but having turned about to give his orders to the boats he was stabbed in the back, and fell with his face into the water. On seeing him fall the islanders set up a great shout, and his body was immediately dragged on shore and surrounded by the enemy, who, snatching the dagger out of each other's hands, showed a savage eagerness to have a share in his destruction.

Thus fell our great and excellent commander! After a

life of so much distinguished and successful enterprise, his death, as far as regards himself, cannot be reckoned premature, since he lived to finish the great work for which he seemed to have been designed; and was rather removed from the enjoyment than cut off from the acquisition of glory. How sincerely his loss was felt and lamented by those who had so long found their general security in his skill and conduct, and every consolation under their hardships in his tenderness and humanity, it is neither necessary nor possible for me to describe; much less shall I attempt to paint the horror with which we were struck, and the universal dejection and dismay which followed so dreadful and unexpected a calamity.

The only other account of the circumstances attending the death of Captain Cook is by Lieutenant Phillips, the officer commanding the detachment of marines forming the escort. He says :—

“Captain Cook landed at the town situated within the north-west point with his pinnace and launch, leaving the small cutter off the point, to prevent the escape of any canoes that might be disposed to get off. At his landing he ordered nine marines, whom he had in the boats, and myself on shore to attend him, and immediately marched into the town, where he inquired for Terreeoboo and the two boys (his sons, who had lived principally with Captain Cook on board the *Resolution*, since Terreeoboo's first arrival among us). Messengers were immediately dispatched, and the two boys soon came, and conducted us to their father's house. After waiting some time on the outside Captain Cook doubted the old gentleman being there, and sent me in that I might inform him. I found our old acquaintance just awoke from sleep; when, upon my acquainting him that Captain Cook was at the door, he very readily went with me to him. Captain Cook, after some little conversation, observed that Terreeoboo was quite innocent of what had happened, and proposed to the old gentleman to go on board with him, which he readily agreed to, and we accordingly proceeded towards the boats, but having advanced near to the waterside, an elderly woman, whose name was Karnacubra, one of his wives, came to him, and with many



tears and entreaties begged he would not go on board ; at the same time two chiefs laid hold of him, and insisting that he should not, made him sit down ; the old man now appeared dejected and frightened. It was at this period we first began to suspect that they were not very well disposed to us, and the marines being huddled together in the midst of an immense mob, composed of at least two or three thousand people, I proposed to Captain Cook that they might be arranged in order along the rocks by the water-side, which he approving of the crowd readily made way for them, and they were drawn up accordingly. We now clearly saw they were collecting their spears, &c., but an awful rascal of a priest was singing and making a ceremonious offering to the captain and Terreeoboo, to divert their attention from the manœuvres of the surrounding multitude. Captain Cook now gave up all thoughts of taking Terreeoboo on board, with the following observations to me, 'We can never think of compelling him to go on board without killing a number of these people,' and I believe was just going to give orders to embark, when he was interrupted by a fellow armed with a long iron spike, which they call a pahooah, and a stone. This man made a flourish with his pahooah, and threatened to throw his stone, upon which Captain Cook discharged a load of small shot at him ; but he having his mat the shot did not penetrate it, and had no other effect than farther to provoke and encourage them. I could not observe the least fright it occasioned. Immediately upon this an arce, armed with a pahooah, attempted to stab me, but I foiled his attempt by giving him a severe blow with the butt-end of my musket. Just at this time they began to throw stones, and one of the marines was knocked down. The captain then fired a ball and killed a man. They now made a general attack, and the captain gave orders to the marines to fire, and afterwards called out, 'Take to the boats.' I fired just after the captain, and loaded again whilst the marines fired. Almost instantaneously upon my repeating the orders to take to the boats, I was knocked down by a stone, and in rising received a stab with a pahooah in the shoulder ; my antagonist was upon the point of seconding his blow when I shot him dead. The business

now was a most miserable scene of confusion. The shouts and yells of the Indians far exceeded all the noise I ever came in the way of. These fellows, instead of retiring upon being fired upon, as Captain Cook and, I believed, most people concluded they would, acted so very contrary a part, that they never gave the soldiers time to reload their pieces, but immediately broke in upon them, and would have killed every man of them had not the boats, by a smart fire, kept them a little off, and picked up those who were not too much wounded to reach them. After being knocked down I saw no more of Captain Cook. All my people, I observed, were totally vanquished, and endeavouring to save their lives by getting to the boats; I therefore scrambled, as well as I could, into the water, and made for the pinnace, which I fortunately got hold of, but not before I had received another blow from a stone just above the temple, which, had not the pinnace been very near, would have sent me to the bottom."

To proceed with Captain King's narrative :—

It has been already related that four of the marines who attended Captain Cook were killed by the islanders on the spot. The rest, with Mr. Phillips, their lieutenant, threw themselves into the water and escaped, under cover of a smart fire from the boats. On this occasion, a remarkable instance of gallant behaviour, and of affection for his men, was shown by that officer. For he had scarcely got into the boat, when, seeing one of the marines, who was a bad swimmer, struggling in the water, and in danger of being taken by the enemy, he immediately jumped into the sea to his assistance, though much wounded himself, and after receiving a blow on the head from a stone, which had nearly sent him to the bottom, he caught the man by the hair and brought him safe off. Our people continued to keep up a hot fire from the boats, which was seconded by the guns of the *Resolution*; and when the natives were forced to retire, a boat, manned by five of our young midshipmen, pulled towards the shore, where they saw the dead bodies lying on the ground, but were unable to bring them off. The attention of both crews was now directed to our party at the morai, where the masts and sails were stored with a guard of only six marines. Being less than a mile from the village

of Kowrowa, we could see distinctly an immense crowd collected on the spot where Captain Cook had just before landed. We heard the firing of the musketry, and could perceive some extraordinary bustle and agitation in the multitude. We afterwards saw the natives flying, the boats retire from the shore, and passing and repassing in great stillness between the ships. I must confess that my heart soon misgave me. Where a life so dear and valuable was concerned, it was impossible not to be alarmed by appearances both new and threatening; but besides this, I knew that a long and uninterrupted course of success in his transactions with the natives of these seas had given the captain a degree of confidence that I was always fearful might, at some unlucky moment, put him too much off his guard; and I now saw all the dangers to which that confidence might lead, without receiving much consolation from a consideration of the experience that had given rise to it.

My first care, on hearing the muskets fired, was to assure the people who assembled in considerable numbers round the wall of our tabooed field, and seemed equally at a loss with ourselves how to account for what they had seen and heard, that they should not be molested, and that, at all events, I was desirous of continuing on peaceable terms with them. We remained in this attitude till the boats had returned on board, when Captain Clerke observing through his telescope that we were surrounded by the natives, and apprehending they meant to attack us, ordered two 4-pounders to be fired at them. Fortunately these guns, though well aimed, did no mischief, and yet gave the natives a convincing proof of their powers. One of the balls broke a cocoa-nut tree in the middle, under which a party were sitting, and the other shivered a rock that stood in an exact line with them. As I had just before given them the strongest assurances for their safety, I was exceedingly mortified at this act of hostility, and to prevent a repetition of it, immediately dispatched a boat to acquaint Captain Clerke that, at present, I was on the most friendly terms with the natives, and that, if occasion should hereafter arise for altering my conduct towards them, I would hoist a jack as a signal for him to afford us all the assistance in his power.

We expected the return of the boat with the utmost impatience, and, after remaining a quarter of an hour under the most torturing anxiety and suspense, our fears were at length confirmed by the arrival of Mr. Bligh, with orders to strike the tents as quickly as possible, and to send the sails that were repairing on board. Just at the same moment our friend Kaireekkea, having also received intelligence of the death of Captain Cook from a native who had arrived from the other side of the bay, came to me with great sorrow and dejection in his countenance, to inquire if it was true. Our situation was, at this time, extremely critical, as not only our lives, but the success of the expedition, and the return of at least one of the ships, was involved in the same common danger. We had the mast of the *Resolution*, and the greater part of our sails on shore, under the protection of only six marines; their loss would have been irreparable, and though the natives had not as yet shown the smallest disposition to molest us, yet it was impossible to answer for the alteration which the news of the transaction at Kowrowa might produce. I therefore thought it prudent to dissemble my belief of the death of Captain Cook, and to desire Kaireekkea to discourage the report, lest either the fear of our resentment, or the successful example of their countrymen, might lead them to seize the favourable opportunity, which at this time offered itself, of giving us a second blow. At the same time I advised him to bring old Kaoo and the rest of the priests into a large house that was close to the morai, partly out of regard to their safety, in case it should have been found necessary to proceed to extremities, and partly to have him near us, in order to make use of his authority with the people, if it would be instrumental in preserving peace.

Having placed the marines on the top of the morai, which formed a strong and advantageous post, and left the command with Mr. Bligh, giving him the most positive directions to act entirely on the defensive, I went on board the *Discovery*, in order to represent to Capt. Clerke the dangerous situation of our affairs. As soon as I quitted the spot, the natives began to annoy our people with stones, and I had scarcely reached the ship, before I heard the firing of the marines. I therefore returned instantly on shore, where

I found things every moment growing more alarming. The natives were arming and putting on their mats, and their numbers increased very fast. I could also perceive several large bodies marching towards us, along the cliff which separates the village of Kakooa from the north side of the bay where the village of Kowrowa is situated. They began at first to attack us with stones from behind the walls of their enclosures, and finding no resistance on our part, they soon grew more daring. A few resolute fellows having crept along the beach, under cover of the rocks, suddenly made their appearance at the front of the morai, with the design, as it seemed, of storming it on the side next the sea, which was its only accessible part, and were not dislodged till after they had stood a considerable number of shots, and seen one of their party fall. The bravery of one of these assailants well deserves to be particularly mentioned. Having returned to carry off his companion amidst the fire of our whole party, a wound which he received made him quit the body and retire; but ... a few minutes he again appeared, and being again wounded he was obliged a second time to retreat. At this moment I arrived at the morai, and saw him return the third time, bleeding and faint, and being informed of what had happened, I forbade the soldiers to fire, and he was suffered to carry off his friend, which he was just able to perform, and then fell down himself and expired.

About this time a strong reinforcement from both ships was landed, when the natives retreated behind the walls, which giving me access to our friendly priests, I sent one of them to endeavour to bring their countrymen to some terms, and to propose to them, that if they would desist from throwing stones, I would not permit our men to fire. This truce was agreed to, and we were suffered to launch the mast, and carry off the sails and our astronomical apparatus unmolested. As soon as we had quitted the morai they took possession of it, and some of them threw a few stones, but without doing us any mischief. It was half-past eleven o'clock when I got on board the *Discovery*, when I found no decisive plan had been adopted for our future proceedings. The restitution of the boat and the recovery of the body of Captain Cook were the objects which, on all hands, we agreed to insist on; and it

was my opinion that some vigorous steps should be taken, in case the demand for them was not immediately complied with.

Though my feelings on the death of a beloved and honoured friend may be suspected to have had some share in this opinion, yet there were certainly other reasons, and those of the most serious kind, that had considerable weight with me. The confidence which their success in killing our chief and forcing us to quit the shore must naturally have inspired, and the advantage, however trifling, which they had obtained over us the preceding day, would, I had no doubt, encourage them to make some further dangerous attempts, and the more especially as they had little reason, from what they had hitherto seen, to dread the effects of our firearms. Indeed, contrary to the expectation of every one, this sort of weapon had produced no signs of terror in them. On our side, such was the condition of the ships and the state of discipline amongst us, that had a vigorous attack been made on us in the night, it would have been impossible to answer for the consequences. In these apprehensions I was supported by the opinion of most of the officers on board ; and nothing seemed to me so likely to encourage the natives to make the attempt as the appearance of our being inclined to an accommodation, which they could only attribute to weakness or fear. In favour of more conciliatory measures, it was justly urged that the mischief was done, and irreparable ; that the natives had a strong claim to our regard, on account of their former friendship and kindness, and the more especially as the late melancholy accident did not appear to have arisen from any premeditated design ; that on the part of Terreeboo, his ignorance of the theft, his readiness to accompany Captain Cook on board, and his having actually sent his two sons into the boat, must free him from the smallest degree of suspicion : that the conduct of his women and the crees might easily be accounted for from the apprehensions occasioned by the armed force with which Captain Cook came on shore, and the hostile preparations in the bay, appearances so different from the terms of friendship and confidence in which both parties had hitherto lived, that the arming of the natives was evidently with a design to

resist the attempt which they had some reason to imagine would be made to carry off their king by force, and was naturally to be expected from a people full of affection and attachment to their chiefs.

To these motives of humanity others of a prudential nature were added ; that we were in want of water and other refreshments ; that our fore-mast would require six or eight days' work before it could be stepped ; that the spring was advancing apace, and that the speedy prosecution of our next northern expedition ought now to be our sole object ; that, therefore, to engage in a vindictive contest with the inhabitants might not only lay us under the imputation of unnecessary cruelty, but would occasion an unavoidable delay in the equipment of the ships. In this latter opinion Captain Clerke concurred ; and though I was convinced that an early display of vigorous resentment would more effectually have answered every object, both of prudence and humanity, I was not sorry that the measures I had recommended were rejected ; for though the contemptuous behaviour of the natives, and their subsequent opposition to our necessary operations on shore—arising, I have no doubt, from a misconstruction of our lenity—compelled us at last to have recourse to violence in our own defence, yet I am not so sure that the circumstances of the case would, in the opinion of the world, have justified the use of force on our part in the first instance.

During the time we were thus engaged in concerting some plan for our future conduct, a prodigious concourse of natives still kept possession of the shore ; and some of them came off in canoes, and had the boldness to approach within pistol-shot of the ships, and to insult us by various marks of contempt and defiance. It was with great difficulty we could restrain the sailors from the use of their arms on these occasions ; but as pacific measures had been resolved on, the canoes were suffered to return unmolested.

In pursuance of this plan, it was determined that I should proceed towards the shore, with the boats of both ships, well manned and armed, with a view to bring the natives to a parley, and, if possible, to obtain a conference with some of the chiefs. If this attempt succeeded I was to demand the dead bodies, and particularly that of Captain Cook ; to

threaten them with our vengeance in case of a refusal, but by no means to fire unless attacked, and not to land on any account whatever. These orders were delivered to me before the whole party, and in the most positive manner.

I left the ships about four o'clock in the afternoon, and as we approached the shore I perceived every indication of a hostile reception. The whole crowd of natives was in motion; the women and children retiring, the men putting on their war-mats, and arming themselves with long spears and daggers. We also observed that since the morning they had thrown up stone breastworks along the beach, where Captain Cook had landed, probably in expectation of an attack at that place; and as soon as we were within reach they began to throw stones at us with slings, but without doing any mischief. Concluding, therefore, that all attempts to bring them to a parley would be in vain unless I first gave them some ground for mutual confidence, I ordered the armed boats to stop, and went on in the small boat alone, with a white flag in my hand, which, by a general cry of joy from the natives, I had the satisfaction to find was instantly understood. The women immediately returned from the side of the hill, whither they had retired; the men threw off their mats, and all sat down together by the water-side, extending their arms, and inviting me to come on shore. Though this behaviour was very expressive of a friendly disposition, yet I could not help entertaining some suspicion of its sincerity. But when I saw Koah, with a boldness and assurance altogether unaccountable, swimming off towards the boats with a white flag in his hand, I thought it necessary to return this mark of confidence, and therefore received him into the boat, though armed, a circumstance which did not tend to lessen my suspicions. I must confess I had long harboured an unfavourable opinion of this man. The priests had always told us that he was of a malicious disposition, and no friend of ours, and the repeated detections of his fraud and treachery had convinced us of the truth of their representations. Added to all this the shocking transaction of the morning, in which he was seen acting a principal part, made me feel the utmost horror at finding myself so near him; and as he came up to me with feigned



tears, and embraced me, I was so distrustful of his intentions that I could not help taking hold of the point of the pahooah which he held in his hand, and turning it from me. I told him that I had come to demand the body of Captain Cook, and to declare war against them unless it was instantly restored. He assured me this should be done as soon as possible, and that he would go himself for that purpose; and after begging of me a piece of iron, with much assurance, as if nothing extraordinary had happened, he leaped into the sea and swam ashore, calling out to his countrymen that we were all friends again. We waited near an hour, with great anxiety, for his return, during which time the rest of the boats had approached so near the shore as to enter into conversation with a party of the natives at some distance from us, by whom they were plainly given to understand that the body had been cut to pieces and carried up the country; but of this circumstance I was not informed till our return to the ships.

I began now to express some impatience at Koah's delay, upon which the chiefs pressed me to come on shore, assuring me that if I would go myself to Terreeboo the body would certainly be restored to me. When they found they could not prevail on me to land they attempted, under a pretence of wishing to converse with more ease, to decoy our boat among the rocks, where they would have had it in their power to cut us off from the rest. It was no difficult matter to see through these artifices, and I was therefore strongly inclined to break off all further communication with them, when a chief came to us, who was the particular friend of Captain Clerke and of the officers of the *Discovery*, on board which ship he had sailed when we last left the bay, intending to take his passage to Mowee. He told us that he came from Terreeboo to acquaint us that the body was carried up the country, but that it should be brought to us the next morning. There appeared a great deal of sincerity in his manner, and being asked if he told a falsehood he hooked his two forefingers together, which is understood amongst these islanders as the sign of truth, in the use of which they are very scrupulous.

As I was now at a loss in what manner to proceed, I sent

Mr. Vancouver to acquaint Captain Clerke with all that had passed ; that my opinion was that they did not mean to keep their word with us, and were so far from being sorry at what had happened, that, on the contrary, they were full of spirits and confidence on account of their late success, and sought only to gain time till they could contrive some scheme for getting us into their power. Mr. Vancouver came back with orders for me to return on board, having first given the natives to understand, that if the body was not brought the next morning the town should be destroyed. When they saw that we were going off, they endeavoured to provoke us by the most insulting and contemptuous gestures. Some of our people said they could distinguish several of the natives parading about in the clothes of our unfortunate comrades, and among them a chief brandishing Captain Cook's hanger, and a woman holding the scabbard ; indeed, there can be no doubt but that our behaviour had given them a mean opinion of our courage, for they could have but little notion of the motives of humanity that directed it.

In consequence of the report I made to Captain Clerke, of what I conceived to be the present temper and disposition of the islanders, the most effectual measures were taken to guard against any attack they might make in the night. The boats were moored with top-chains, additional sentinels were posted on both ships, and guard boats were stationed to row round them, in order to prevent the natives from cutting the cables. During the night we observed a prodigious number of lights on the hills, which made some of us imagine they were removing their effects back into the country, in consequence of our threats, though I rather believe these fires to have been lit for sacrificial purposes on account of the war in which they imagined themselves about to engage, and most probably the bodies of our slain countrymen were at that time burning. We afterwards saw fires of the same kind as we passed the island of Morotoi, and which we were told by some natives, then on board, were made on account of the war they had declared against a neighbouring island ; and this agrees with what we learned amongst the Friendly and Society Isles, that, previous to any expedition against an enemy the chiefs always endeavoured to animate and inflame

the courage of the people by feasts and rejoicings in the night.

We remained the whole night undisturbed, except by the howlings and lamentations which were heard on shore ; and early the next morning Koah came alongside the *Resolution* with a present of cloth and a small pig, which he desired leave to present to me. I have mentioned before that I was supposed by the natives to be the son of Captain Cook ; and as he in his lifetime had always suffered them to believe it, I was probably considered as the chief after his death. As soon as I came on deck, I questioned him about the body ; and on his returning me nothing but evasive answers, I refused to accept his presents, and was going to dismiss him with some expressions of anger and resentment, had not Captain Clerke, judging it best at all events to keep up the appearance of friendship, thought it more proper that he should be treated with the usual respect. This treacherous fellow came frequently to us during the course of the forenoon with some trifling present or other ; and as I always observed him eyeing every part of the ship with great attention, I took care he should see we were well prepared for our defence. He was exceedingly urgent both with Captain Clerke and myself to go on shore, laying all the blame of the detention of the bodies on the other chiefs, and assuring us that everything might be settled to our satisfaction by a personal interview with Terreeoboo. However, his conduct was too suspicious to make it prudent to comply with this request, and, indeed, a fact came afterwards to our knowledge which proved the entire falsehood of his pretences ; for we were told that immediately after the action in which Captain Cook was killed, the old king had retired to a cave in the steep part of the mountain that hangs over the bay, which was accessible only by the help of ropes, and where he remained for many days, having his victuals let down to him by cords.

When Koah returned from the ships, we could perceive that his countrymen, who had been collected since break of day in vast crowds on the shore, thronged about him with great eagerness, as if to learn the intelligence he had acquired, and what was to be done in consequence of it. It is very probable that they expected we should attempt to put

our threats in execution, and they seemed fully resolved to stand their ground. During the whole morning we heard conchs blowing in different parts of the coast ; large parties were seen marching over the hills, and, in short, appearances were so alarming, that we carried out a stream-anchor to enable us to haul the ship abreast of the town, in case of an attack, and stationed boats off the north point of the bay to prevent a surprise from that quarter. The breach of their engagement to restore the bodies of the slain, and the war-like attitude which they at this time assumed, occasioned fresh debates amongst us concerning the measures next to be pursued. It was at last determined that nothing should be suffered to interfere with the repair of the mast and the preparations for our departure, but that we should nevertheless continue our negotiations for the recovery of the bodies. The greater part of this day was spent in getting the foremast in a proper situation on deck for the carpenters to work upon it, and in making the necessary alterations in the commissions of the officers. The command of the expedition having devolved on Captain Clerke, he removed on board the *Resolution*, appointed Lieut. Gore to be captain of the *Discovery*, and promoted Mr. Harvey, a midshipman, who had been with Captain Cook in his two last voyages, to the vacant lieutenancy. During the whole day we met with no interruption from the natives, and at night the launch was again moored with a top-chain and guard-boats stationed round both ships as before.

About eight o'clock, it being very dark, a canoe was heard paddling towards the ship, and as soon as it was seen both the sentinels on deck fired on it. There were two persons in the canoe, and they immediately roared out "Tinnee," which was the way in which they pronounced my name, and said they were friends, and had something for me belonging to Captain Cook. When they came on board they threw themselves at our feet, and appeared exceedingly frightened. Luckily, neither of them was hurt, notwithstanding the balls of both pieces went through the canoe. One of them was the person, whom I have before mentioned under the name of the *Tahbo* man, who constantly attended Captain Cook with the circumstances of ceremony I have already de-

scribed ; and who, though a man of rank in the island, could scarcely be hindered from performing for him the lowest offices of a menial servant. After lamenting with abundance of tears the loss of the orono, he told us that he had brought us a part of his body. He then presented to us a small bundle wrapped up in cloth, which he brought under his arm, and it is impossible to describe the horror which seized us on finding in it a piece of human flesh about nine or ten pounds weight. This, he said, was all that remained of the body ; that the rest was cut to pieces and burnt, but that the head and all the bones, except what belonged to the trunk, were in the possession of Terreeoboo and the other erees ; that what we saw had been allotted to Kaoo, the chief of the priests, to be made use of in some religious ceremony, and that he had sent it as a proof of his innocence and attachment to us.

We learned from these men that seventeen of their countrymen were killed in the first action at Kowrowa, of whom five were chiefs ; and that Kaneena and his brother, our very particular friends, were unfortunately of that number. Eight, they said, were killed at the observatory, three of whom were also of the first rank. About eleven o'clock our two friends left us, and took the precaution to desire that our guard-boat might attend them till they had passed the *Discovery*, lest they should again be fired upon, which might alarm their countrymen on shore, and expose them to the danger of being discovered. This request was complied with, and we were glad to find that they got safe to land.

About noon on the following day, finding us persist in our inactivity, great bodies of the natives, after blowing their conches, and using every mode of defiance, marched off over the hills and never appeared afterwards. Those, however, who remained, were not the less daring and insolent ; one man had the audacity to come within musket-shot ahead of the ship, and after slinging several stones at us, he waved Captain Cook's hat over his head, whilst his countrymen on shore were exulting and encouraging his boldness. Our people were all in a flame at this insult, and coming in a body on the quarter-deck, begged they might no longer be obliged to put up with these repeated persecutions, and

requested me to obtain permission for them, from Captain Clerke, to avail themselves of the first fair occasion of avenging the death of their commander. On acquainting him with what was passing, he gave orders for some of the great guns to be fired at the natives on shore, and promised the crew that if they should meet with any molestation at the watering-place next day, they should then be left at liberty to chastise them.

It is somewhat remarkable that before we could bring our guns to bear, the islanders had suspected our intentions, from the stir they saw in the ship, and had retired behind their houses and walls ; but notwithstanding that we were obliged to fire in some measure at random, our shot produced all the effect that could have been desired, for soon after we saw Koah paddling towards us with extreme haste, and on his arrival we learned that some people had been killed, and amongst the rest Maiha-Maiha, a principal chief, and a near relation of the king. Soon after the arrival of Koah, two boys swam off from the morai towards the ships, each having a long spear in his hand, and after they had approached pretty near they began to chant a song in a very solemn manner, the subject of which, from their often mentioning the word "orono," and pointing to the village where Captain Cook was killed, we concluded to be the late calamitous disaster. Having sung in a plaintive strain for about twelve or fifteen minutes, during the whole of which time they remained in the water, they went on board the *Discovery* and delivered their spears, and after making a short stay returned on shore. Who sent them, or what was the object of this ceremony, we were never able to learn.

At night the usual precautions were taken for the security of the ships ; and, as soon as it was dark, our two friends who had visited us the night before came off again. They assured us that though the effect of our great guns that afternoon had terrified the chiefs exceedingly, they had by no means laid aside their hostile intentions, and advised us to be on our guard. The next morning the boats of both ships were sent ashore for water, and the *Discovery* was warped close to the beach in order to cover that service.

Throughout these islands, the ground adjacent to the villages

is enclosed with stone walls about three feet high. These we at first imagined were intended for the division of property, but we now discovered that they served, and probably were principally designed, for a defence against invasion. They consist of loose stones, and the inhabitants are very dexterous in shifting them with great quickness to such points as the direction of the attack may require. In the sides of the mountain, which hangs over the bay, they have also little holes or caves of considerable depth, the entrance of which is secured by a fence of the same kind. From behind these defences the natives kept perpetually harassing our waterers with stones, nor could the small force we had on shore, with the advantage of muskets, compel them to retreat. In this exposed situation our people were so taken up in attending to their own safety, that they employed the whole forenoon in filling only one ton of water. As it was therefore impossible to perform this service till these assailants were driven to a greater distance, the *Discovery* was ordered to dislodge them with her great guns, which being effected by a few discharges, the men landed without molestation. However, the natives soon after made their appearance again in their usual mode of attack, and it was now found absolutely necessary to burn down some straggling houses near the well, behind which they had taken shelter. In executing these orders I am sorry to admit that our people were hurried into acts of unnecessary cruelty and devastation. Something ought certainly to be allowed to their resentment of the repeated insults and contemptuous behaviour of the islanders, and to the natural desire of revenging the loss of their commander; but at the same time their conduct served strongly to convince me that the utmost precaution is necessary in trusting, though but for a moment, the discretionary use of arms in the hands of private seamen or soldiers on such occasions.

I have already mentioned that orders had been given to burn only a few straggling houses which afforded shelter to the natives; we were therefore a good deal surprised to see the whole village on fire, and before a boat, sent to stop the progress of the mischief, could reach the shore, the houses of our old and constant friends, the priests, were all in

flames. I cannot enough lament the illness that confined me on board this day : the priests had always been under my protection, and, unluckily, the officers who were then on duty, having been seldom on shore at the morai, were not much acquainted with the circumstances of the place. Had I been present myself I might probably have been the means of saving their little society from destruction. Several of the natives were shot in making their escape from the flames, and our people cut off the heads of two of them, and brought them on board. The fate of one poor islander was much lamented by us all. As he was coming to the well for water he was shot at by one of the marines, and the ball struck his calabash, which he immediately threw from him and fled. He was pursued into one of the caves I have before described, and no lion could have defended his den with greater courage and fierceness, till at last, after having kept two of our people at bay for a considerable time, he expired covered with wounds. It was this accident that first made us acquainted with the use of these caverns. At this time an elderly man was taken prisoner, bound, and sent on board in the same boat with the heads of his two countrymen. I never saw horror so strongly depicted as in the face of this man, nor so violent a transition to extravagant joy as when he was untied and told he might go away in safety. He showed us he did not want gratitude, as he frequently afterwards returned with presents of provisions, and also did us other services.

Soon after the village was destroyed we saw a man coming down the hill, attended by fifteen or twenty boys, holding pieces of white cloth, green boughs, and plantains in their hands. I know not how it happened that this peaceful embassy, as soon as they were within reach, received the fire of a party of our men, though it did not stop them ; they continued their progress, and the officer on duty came up in time to prevent a second discharge. As they approached nearer it was found to be our much-esteemed friend Kairekeca, who had fled on our first setting fire to the village, and had now returned, and desired to be sent on board the *Resolution*. When he arrived we found him exceedingly grave and thoughtful ; we endeavoured to make him under-



stand the necessity we were under of setting fire to the village, by which his house and those of his brethren were unintentionally consumed. He expostulated a little with us on our want of friendship and on our ingratitude; and, indeed, it was not till now that we learned the whole extent of the injury we had done them. He told us, that relying on the promises I had made them and on the assurances they had afterwards received from the men who had brought us the remains of Captain Cook, they had not removed their effects back into the country with the rest of the inhabitants, but had put everything that was valuable of their own, as well as what they had collected from us, into a house close to the morai, where they had the mortification of seeing it all set on fire by ourselves. On coming on board he had seen the heads of his countrymen lying on the deck, at which he was exceedingly shocked, and desired, with great earnestness, that they might be thrown overboard; this request Captain Clarke instantly ordered to be complied with.

In the evening the watering party returned on board, having met with no further interruption. We passed a gloomy night, the cries and lamentations we heard on shore being far more dreadful than ever; our only consolation was the hope that we should have no occasion, in future, for a repetition of such severities. It seemed very extraordinary that amidst all these disturbances the women of the island who were on board never offered to leave us, nor discovered the smallest apprehension, either for themselves or their friends ashore. So entirely unconcerned did they appear that some of them, who were on deck when the town was in flames, seemed to admire the sight, and frequently cried out that it was "maitai," or very fine. The next morning Koah came off as usual to the ships. As there existed no longer any necessity for keeping terms with him, I was allowed to have my own way. When he approached the ship, singing a song and offering me a hog and some plantains, I ordered him to keep off, cautioning him never to appear again without Captain Cook's bones, lest his life should pay the forfeit of his continued breach of promise. He did not appear much mortified with this reception, but went immediately on shore, and joined a party of his

countrymen who were pelting the waterers with stones. The body of the young man killed the day before was found this morning, lying at the entrance of the cave, and some of our people went and threw a mat over it, soon after which they saw some men carrying him off on their shoulders, singing a mournful song as they marched.

The natives being at last convinced that it was not the want of ability to punish them, which had hitherto made us tolerate their provocations, desisted from giving us any further molestation; and in the evening, a chief called Eappo, who had seldom visited us, but whom we knew to be a man of the very first consequence, came with presents from Terreeoboo to sue for peace. These presents were received, and he was dismissed with the same answer which had before been given, that until the remains of Captain Cook should be restored, no peace would be granted. We learned from this person that the flesh of all the bodies of our people, together with the bones of the trunks, had been burnt; that the limb bones of the marines had been divided amongst the inferior chiefs; and that those of Captain Cook had been disposed of in the following manner: the head to a great chief called Kahoo-opeon, the hair to Maiha-maiha; and the legs, thighs, and arms to Terreeoboo. After it was dark many of the inhabitants came off with roots and other vegetables; and we also received two large presents of the same articles from Kaireekea.

The 19th was chiefly taken up in sending and receiving the messages which passed between Captain Clerke and Terreeoboo. Eappo was very pressing that one of our officers should go on shore, and in the meantime offered to remain as an hostage on board. This request, however, it was not thought proper to comply with, and he left us with a promise of bringing the bones the next day. At the beach the waterers did not meet with the least opposition from the natives, who, notwithstanding our cautious behaviour, came amongst us again without the smallest appearance of diffidence or apprehension.

Early in the morning of the 20th we had the satisfaction of getting the fore-mast stepped. It was an operation attended with great difficulty and some danger, our ropes being

so exceedingly rotten, that the purchase gave way several times. Between ten and eleven o'clock we saw a great number of people descending the hill, which is over the beach, in a kind of procession, each man carrying a sugar-cane or two on his shoulders, and bread-fruit, taro, and plantains in his hand. They were preceded by two drummers, who, when they came to the water-side, sat down by a white flag, and began to beat their drums, while those who had followed them advanced one by one, and having deposited the presents they had brought, retired in the same order. Soon after, Eappo came in sight, in his long feathered cloak, bearing something with great solemnity in his hands, and having seated himself on a rock, he made signs for a boat to be sent to him. Captain Clerke, conjecturing that he had brought the bones of Captain Cook, which proved to be the fact, went himself in the pinnace to receive them, and ordered me to attend him in the cutter. When we arrived at the beach, Eappo came into the pinnace, and delivered to the captain the bones wrapped up in a large quantity of fine new cloth, and covered with a spotted cloak of black and white feathers. He afterwards attended us to the *Resolution*, but could not be prevailed upon to go on board, probably not choosing, from a sense of decency, to be present at the opening of the bundle. We found in it both the hands of Captain Cook entire, which were well known from a remarkable scar on one of them, that divided the thumb from the forefinger the whole length of the metacarpal bone; the skull, but with the scalp separated from it, and the bones that form the face wanting; the scalp, with the hair upon it cut short, and the ears adhering to it, the bones of both arms, with the skin of the fore-arms hanging to them; the thigh and leg bones joined together, but without the feet. The ligaments of the joints were entire, and the whole bore evident marks of having been in the fire, except the hands, which had the flesh left upon them, and were cut in several places, and crammed with salt, apparently with an intention of preserving them. The scalp had a cut in the back part of it, but the skull was free from any fracture. The lower jaw and feet, which were wanting, Eappo told us had been seized by different chiefs, and that Terreeoboo was using

every means to recover them. The next morning Eappo and the king's son came on board, and brought with them the remaining bones of Captain Cook, the barrels of his gun, his shoes, and some other trifles that belonged to him. Eappo took great pains to convince us that Terreeoboo, Maiha-maiha, and himself, were most heartily desirous of peace ; that they had given us the most convincing proof of it in their power, and that they had been prevented from giving it sooner by the other chiefs, many of whom were still our enemies. He lamented with the greatest sorrow the death of six chiefs we had killed, some of whom, he said, were amongst our best friends. The cutter, he told us, was taken away by Parcea's people, very probably in revenge for the blow that had been given him, and that it had been broken up the next day. The arms of the marines, which we had also demanded, he assured us had been carried off by the common people, and were irrecoverable, the bones of the chief alone having been preserved, as belonging to Terreeoboo and the erees.

Nothing now remained but to perform the last offices to our great and unfortunate commander. Eappo was dismissed with orders to taboo all the bay ; and in the afternoon, the bones having been put into a coffin, and the service read over them, they were committed to the deep with the usual military honours. What our feelings were on this occasion I leave the world to conceive ; those who were present know that it is not in my power to express them.

During the forenoon of the 22nd not a canoe was seen paddling in the bay, the taboo, which Eappo had laid on it the day before at our request, not being yet taken off. At length Eappo came off to us. We assured him that we were now entirely satisfied, and that, as the orono was buried, all remembrance of what had passed was buried with him. We afterwards desired him to take off the taboo, and to make it known that the people might bring their provisions as usual. The ships were soon surrounded with canoes, and many of the chiefs came on board, expressing great sorrow at what had happened, and their satisfaction at our reconciliation. Several of our friends, who did not visit us, sent presents of large hogs and other provisions.

Amongst the rest came the old treacherous Koah, but he was refused admittance. As we had now everything ready for sea, Captain Clerke, imagining that if the news of our proceedings should reach the islands to leeward before us, it might have a bad effect, gave orders to unmoor. About eight in the evening we dismissed all the natives, and Eappo and the friendly Kaireekcea took an affectionate leave of us. We immediately weighed and stood out of the bay. The natives were collected on the shore in great numbers, and as we passed along received our last farewells with every mark of affection and goodwill.

During the course of the following day, when near the island of Mowee, we were visited by several of the natives, who came off to sell provisions, and we soon found that they had heard of our late unfortunate transactions at Owwhyhee. They were very curious to learn the particulars from a woman who had concealed herself on board the *Resolution*, in order to take her passage to Atooi, inquiring eagerly after Pareea and some other chiefs, and appearing much shocked at the death of Kaneena and his brother. We had, however, the satisfaction to find that, in whatever light the woman might have represented this business, it had no bad effect on their behaviour, which was remarkably civil and submissive.

On the 28th we arrived at Atooi, and had no sooner anchored in our old station than several canoes came alongside of us, but we could observe that they did not welcome us with the same cordiality in their manner and satisfaction in their countenances as when we were here before. Our principal object here was to water the ships with the utmost expedition; and I was sent on shore early in the afternoon, with the pinnace and launch laden with casks. The gunner of the *Resolution* accompanied me, to trade for provisions, and we had a guard of five marines. We found a considerable number of people collected upon the beach, who received us at first with great kindness, but as soon as we had got the casks on shore, began to be exceedingly troublesome. Former experience having taught us how difficult it was to repress this disposition without having recourse to the authority of their chiefs, I was very sorry to find that they were all at another part of the island. Indeed we soon felt the want of

their assistance, for it was with great difficulty I was able to form a circle, according to our usual practice, for the convenience and security of the trading party, and had no sooner done it, and posted a guard to keep off the crowd, than I saw a man laying hold of the bayonet of one of the soldiers' muskets, and endeavouring, with all his force, to wrench it out of his hand. On my coming up to them the native let go his hold and retired, but returned in a moment with a spear in one hand and a dagger in the other; and his countrymen had much ado to restrain him from trying his prowess with the soldier. This fray was occasioned by the latter having given the man a slight prick with his bayonet in order to make him keep without the line. I now perceived that our situation required great circumspection and management, and accordingly gave the strictest orders that no one should fire, nor have recourse to any other act of violence, without positive commands. As soon as I had given these directions I was called to the assistance of the watering party, where I found the natives equally inclined to mischief. They had demanded from our people a large hatchet for every cask of water, and this not being complied with, they would not suffer the sailors to roll them down to the boats. I had no sooner joined them than one of the natives advanced up to me, with great insolence, and made the same claim. I told him that, as a friend, I was very willing to present him with a hatchet, but that I should certainly carry off the water, without paying anything for it, and I immediately ordered the pinnace men to proceed in their business, and called three marines from the traders to protect them.

Though this show of spirit succeeded so far as to make the natives desist from any open attempt to interrupt us, they still continued to behave in the most provoking manner. Whilst some of them, under pretence of assisting the men in rolling down the casks, turned them out of their course, and gave them a wrong direction, others were stealing the hats from off the sailors' heads, pulling them backward by their clothes, or tripping up their heels; the whole crowd all this time shouting and laughing, with a strange mixture of childishness and malice. They afterwards found means to steal the

cooper's basket, and took away his bag by force ; but the objects they were most eager to possess themselves of were the muskets of the marines, who were every instant complaining of their attempts to force them out of their hands. Though they continued, for the most part, to pay great deference and respect to me, yet they did not suffer me to escape without contributing my share to their stock of plunder. One of them came up to me with a familiar air, and with great management diverted my attention, whilst another, wrenching the hanger, which I held carelessly in my hand, from me, ran off with it like lightning.

It was vain to think of repelling this insolence by force. Guarding, therefore, against its effects in the best manner we were able, we had nothing to do but to submit patiently to it. My apprehensions were, however, a little alarmed by the information I soon after received from the sergeant of marines, who told me that, turning suddenly round, he saw a man behind me holding a dagger in the position of striking. In this he might possibly be mistaken, yet our situation was certainly alarming and critical, and the smallest error on our side might have been fatal to us. In case of a real attack, our whole force, however advantageously disposed, could have made but a poor resistance ; on the other hand, I thought it some consequence to show the natives that we were under no fear.

It is probable that their dread of the effects of our arms was the principal cause of their backwardness in attacking us ; and, indeed, the confidence we appeared to place in this advantage, by opposing only five marines to their whole force, must have raised in them a very high idea of our superiority.

We had now got everything into the boats, and only Mr. Anderson, the gunner, a seaman of the boat's crew, and myself remained on shore. Soon stones began to fly about us, and our people cried to us from the boats to make haste, as the natives were following us into the water with clubs and spears. I reached the side of the pinnace first ; Mr. Anderson was at some distance behind, and not yet entirely out of danger. I called out to the marines to fire one musket. In the hurry of executing my orders they fired two, and when I had got into

the boat I saw the natives running away, and one man, with a woman sitting by him, left behind on the beach. The man made several attempts to rise without being able, and it was with much regret I perceived him to be wounded in the groin. The natives soon after returned, and surrounded the wounded man, brandishing their spears and daggers at us with an air of threatening and defiance; but before we reached the ship we saw some persons, whom we supposed to be chiefs, now arrived, driving them away from the shore. During our absence Captain Clerke had been under the greatest anxiety for our safety, and these apprehensions were considerably increased from his having entirely mistaken the drift of a conversation he had held with some natives who had been on board. The frequent mention of the name of Captain Cook, with other strong and circumstantial descriptions of death and destruction, made him conclude that the knowledge of the unfortunate events at Owhyhee had reached them, and that these were what they alluded to; whereas all that they had in view was to make known to him the wars that had arisen in consequence of the goats that Captain Cook had left at Onecheow, and the slaughter of the poor goats themselves during the struggle for the possession of them. Captain Clerke, applying this earnestness of conversation and these terrible representations to our calamitous transaction at Owhyhee and to an indication of revenge, kept his telescope fixed upon us, and the moment he saw the smoke of the muskets, ordered the boats to be manned and armed, and to put off to our assistance.

The next morning I was again ordered on shore with the watering party. The risk we had run the preceding day determined Captain Clerke to send a considerable force from both the ships for our guard, amounting in all to forty men under arms. This precaution, however, was now unnecessary, for we found the beach left entirely to ourselves, and the ground between the landing-place and the lake tabooed with small white flags. We concluded from this appearance that some of the chiefs had certainly visited this quarter, and that, not being able to stay, they had kindly and considerately taken this step for our greater security and convenience. We saw several men, armed with long



spears and daggers, on the other side of the river on our right, but they did not offer to give us the least molestation. Their women came over and sat down on the bars close by us, and at noon we prevailed on some of the men to bring hogs and roots for our people and to dress them for us. The next day we completed our watering, without meeting with any material difficulty. On our return to the ships we found that several chiefs had been on board and had made excuses for the behaviour of their countrymen, attributing their riotous conduct to the quarrels which subsisted at that time amongst the principal people of the island, and which had occasioned a general want of order and subordination amongst them.

The 4th and the two following days were employed on shore in completing the *Discovery's* water, and the carpenters were busy on board in caulking the ships and in making other preparations for our next cruise. The natives desisted from disturbing us any further, and we procured from them a plentiful supply of pork and vegetables.

On the 15th of March we weighed anchor, and passing to the north of Tahoorá, steered first south-west, and on the following day west, it being Captain Clerke's intention to keep as near as possible in the same parallel of latitude till we should make the longitude of Awatska Bay, and afterwards to steer due north for the harbour of St. Peter and St. Paul in that bay, which was also appointed for our rendezvous in case of separation. This track was chosen on account of its being, as far as we knew, unexplored; and we were not without hopes of falling in with some new island on our passage. On the 29th, in consequence of the light winds we had met for some time past, with the present unsettled state of the weather, and the little appearance of any change for the better, Captain Clerke altered his plan of keeping within the tropical latitudes, and accordingly at six this evening we began to steer to the north-west. At noon on the 6th of April we lost the trade-wind, and were suddenly taken aback with the wind from the north-north-west. At this time our latitude was  $29^{\circ} 50'$  and our longitude  $170^{\circ} 1'$ . As the old running ropes were constantly breaking in the late gales, we rove what

ones we had left, and made such other preparations as were necessary for the very different climate which we were now shortly to encounter. The airing of sails and other stores, which, from the leakiness of the decks and sides of the ships, were perpetually wet, had now become a frequent, as well as a laborious and troublesome part of our duty. Besides these cares, which had regard only to the ships themselves, there were others which had for their object the preservation of the health of the crews, that furnished a constant occupation to a great number of our hands. The standing orders established by Captain Cook, of airing the bedding, placing fires between decks, washing them with vinegar, and smoking them with gunpowder, were observed without any intermission. In the afternoon we observed some of the sheathing floating by the ship, and on examination found that twelve or fourteen feet had been washed off from under the larboard bow, where we supposed the leak to have been, which ever since our leaving the Sandwich Islands had kept the people almost constantly at the pumps, making twelve inches water an hour.

On the 12th the wind came gradually round to the east, and increased to so strong a gale as obliged us to strike our topgallant yards, and brought us under the lower sails, and the main-topsail close reefed. Unfortunately we were upon that tack which was the most advantageous for our leak. But as we had always been able to keep it under with the hand pumps, it gave us no great uneasiness, till the 13th, about six in the afternoon, when we were greatly alarmed by a sudden inundation, that deluged the whole space between decks. The water, which had lodged in the coal-hole, not finding a sufficient vent into the well, had forced up the platform over it, and in a moment set everything afloat. Our situation was indeed exceedingly distressing, and we were obliged to keep one half of the people constantly pumping and baling, till the noon of the 15th. Our men bore with great cheerfulness the excessive fatigue, which was much increased by their having no dry sleeping place. The weather now becoming more moderate, and the swell less heavy, we were enabled to clear away the casks from the fore-hold, and to open a sufficient passage for the water to the pumps,

On the 19th the thermometer in the daytime remained at the freezing-point, and at four in the morning fell to 29°. The sudden change from the hot, sultry weather we had at the beginning of this month, to the extreme cold which we now endured, was severely felt by us. In the gale of the 18th we had split almost all the sails we had bent, which being our second-best sails, we were now reduced to make use of our last and best set. To add to Captain Clerke's difficulties, the sea was in general so rough, and the ships so leaky, that the sail-maker had no place to repair the sails in except his apartments, which in his declining state of health was a serious inconvenience to him.

On the 23rd of April the land appeared in mountains covered with snow, and a more dismal and dreary prospect I never beheld. The coast appears straight and uniform, having no inlets or bays; the ground from the shore rises in hills of a moderate elevation, behind which are ranges of mountains whose summits were lost in the clouds. The whole scene was entirely covered with snow, except the sides of some of the cliffs, which rose too abruptly from the sea for the snow to lie upon them. The ships appeared to be a complete mass of ice; the shrouds were so encrusted with it as to measure in circumference more than double their usual size, and, in short, the experience of the oldest seaman among us had never met with anything like the continued showers of sleet and the extreme cold which we now encountered. Indeed, the severity of the weather, added to the great difficulty of working the ships, and the labour of keeping the pumps constantly going, rendered the service too hard for many of the crew, some of whom were frost-bitten, and others laid up with bad colds. The weather continued for some days too unfavourable for us to venture into Awatska Bay, but at length, on the 28th, we discovered, on a narrow point of land, a few miserable log-houses and some conical huts, raised on poles, amounting in all to about thirty, which we found to be Petropaulowska. However, in this wretched extremity of the earth, situated beyond everything that we conceived to be most barbarous and inhospitable, and, as it were, out of the very reach of civilisation, barricadoed with ice and covered with summer snow, in a poor miserable port,

far inferior to the meanest of our fishing towns, we met with most hospitable treatment.

We quitted the place on the 13th of June, after having all our wants amply supplied by the Russian commander of Bolcheretsk, a town about 135 miles distant, which is the capital of the province. Before daylight on the 15th we were surprised by a rumbling noise, resembling distant hollow thunder; and when the day broke, we found the decks and sides of the ships covered with a fine dust like emery, near an inch thick. The air at the same time continued loaded and darkened with this substance, and towards the volcano, situated to the north of the harbour, it was so thick and black, that we could not distinguish the body of the hill. About twelve o'clock, and during the afternoon, the explosions became louder, and were followed by showers of cinders, which were in general about the size of peas, though many were picked up from the deck larger than a hazel nut. Along with the cinders fell several small stones, which had undergone no change from the action of fire. In the evening we had dreadful thunder and lightning, which, with the darkness of the atmosphere, and the sulphurous smell of the air, produced altogether a most awful and terrifying effect. We were at this time about eight leagues from the foot of the mountain. The aspect of the country was now very different from what it had been on our first arrival. The snow, excepting what remained on the tops of some very high mountains, had disappeared; and the sides of the hills, which in many parts were well wooded, were covered with a beautiful verdure. On the 5th of July, our latitude by account being  $65^{\circ} 24'$ , we stood over to the coast of Asia till seven in the evening, at which time we were within two or three leagues of the east cape of that continent. At ten at night, the weather becoming clear, we had an opportunity of seeing at the same moment the remarkable peaked hill, near Cape Prince of Wales, on the coast of America, and the east cape of Asia, with the two connecting islands of St. Diomedé between them. On the following day we fell in with an extensive body of ice stretching away to the westward. The sight gave great discouragement to our hopes of advancing much further northward this year than we had done the preceding. By the 9th we had sailed nearly forty

leagues along the edge of the ice without seeing any opening, or a clear sea to the northward beyond it, and had therefore no prospect of advancing further north for the present ; Captain Clerke, therefore, resolved to bear away to the south-by-east, the only quarter that was clear, and to wait till the season was more advanced before he made any further efforts to penetrate the ice. The intermediate time he proposed to spend in examining the Bay of St. Laurence and the coast to the southward of it, as a harbour so near, in case of future damage from the ice, would be very desirable. We therefore stood to the southward till the night of the 10th, when nothing was to be seen but one compact field of ice stretching as far as the eye could reach. As no space remained open, we tacked and once more stood to the northward. On the 13th we again found ourselves close in with a solid field of ice, to which we could see no limits from the masthead, which at once dashed all our hopes of penetrating further. Our latitude at this time was  $69^{\circ} 37'$ , and our position nearly in the mid channel between the two continents. As there did not remain the smallest prospect of getting further north, Captain Clerke resolved to make one more and final attempt on the American coast for Baffin's Bay, since we had been able to advance the furthest on this side last year. On the 16th we found ourselves embayed, the ice having taken a sudden turn to the south-east, and in one compact body surrounding us on all sides except on the south quarter. We therefore hauled our wind to the southward, being at this time in latitude  $70^{\circ} 8'$  North, and, as we supposed, about twenty-five leagues from the coast of America. The gale increasing, and the depth of water lessening, which we considered as a proof of our near approach to the American coast, we tacked and stood to the north. We were a second time so completely embayed that there was no opening left but to the south, to which quarter we accordingly directed our course. returning by the same way we had come in. We were never able to penetrate further north than this, where our latitude was  $70^{\circ} 33'$ , and this was five leagues short of the point to which we advanced last season.

At eight in the morning of the 21st, the wind freshening and the fog clearing away, we saw the American coast to the

south-east at the distance of eight or ten leagues, and hauled in for it, but were stopped again by the ice, and obliged to bear away to the westward along the edge of it. Thus, having found a connected solid field of ice, rendering fruitless every effort we could make to approach nearer to the land, and, indeed, apparently joining it, we took a last farewell of a north-east passage to Old England. Captain Clerke now determined to give up all further attempts on the coast of America, and to make his last efforts in search of a passage on the coast of the opposite continent. We accordingly continued during the afternoon of the 21st of July to steer to the west-north-west through much loose ice. In the morning of the 23rd the clear water, in which we continued to stand to and fro, did not exceed a mile and a half, and was every instant lessening. At length, after using our utmost endeavours to clear the loose ice, we were driven to the necessity of forcing the passage to the southward, which at half-past seven we accomplished, but not without subjecting the ship to some severe shocks. The *Discovery* was less successful; for at eleven, when they had nigh got clear out, she became so entangled by several large pieces that her way was stopped, and, immediately dropping bodily to leeward, she fell broadside on the edge of a considerable body of ice; and having at the same time an open sea to windward the surf caused her to beat violently upon it. This mass at length either so far broke, or moved, as to set her crew at liberty to make another effort to escape; but unfortunately before the ship gathered way enough to be under command, she again fell to leeward on another fragment; and the swell making it unsafe to lie to windward, and finding no chance of getting clear, they pushed into a small opening, furled their sails, and made fast with ice-hooks. In this dangerous situation we saw them at noon, about three miles from us, bearing north-west, a fresh gale from the south-east driving more ice to the north-west, and increasing the body that lay between us. To add to the gloomy apprehensions which began to force themselves on us, at half-past four in the afternoon, the weather becoming thick and hazy, we lost sight of the *Discovery*; but that we might be in a situation to afford her every assistance in our  
∴ we kept standing on close by the edge of the ice, and

firing a gun every half-hour. Our apprehensions for her safety did not cease till nine, when we heard her guns in answer to ours; and soon after, being hailed by her, were informed that upon the change of wind the ice began to separate, and that, setting all their sails, they forced a passage through it. As it was now necessary to come to some determination with respect to the course we were next to steer, Captain Clerke sent a boat, with the carpenters, on board the *Discovery*, to inquire into the particulars of the damage she had sustained. They returned in the evening with the report of Captain Gore, and of the carpenters of both ships, that the damages they had received were of a kind that would require three weeks to repair, and that it would be necessary for that purpose to go into some port. Thus finding a further advance to the northward, as well as a nearer approach to either continent, obstructed by a sea blocked up with ice, we judged it both injurious to the service, by endangering the safety of the ships, as well as fruitless with respect to the design of our voyage, to make any further attempts towards a passage. This, therefore, added to the representations of Captain Gore, determined Captain Clerke not to lose more time in what he concluded to be an unattainable object, but to sail for Awatska Bay, to repair our damages there; and before the winter should set in, and render all other efforts toward discovery impracticable, to explore the coast of Japan. I will not endeavour to conceal the joy that brightened the countenance of every individual as soon as Captain Clerke's resolutions were made known. We were all heartily sick of a navigation full of danger, and in which the utmost perseverance had not been repaid with the smallest probability of success. We therefore turned our faces toward home, after an absence of three years, with a delight and satisfaction which, notwithstanding the tedious voyage we had still to make, and the immense distance we had to run, were as freely entertained, and perhaps as fully enjoyed, as if we had been already in sight of the Land's End.

On the evening of the 30th, when the fog cleared away, we saw Cape Prince of Wales, bearing south by east, distant about six leagues. We now altered our course to the west, and at eight made the East Cape, which at midnight was four

leagues distant. As Captain Clerke was now confined to his bed, he desired the officers would receive their orders from me, and directed that the course should be steered to Awatska Bay.

On the 22nd of August, 1779, at nine o'clock in the morning, departed this life Captain Charles Clerke, in the thirty-eighth year of his age. He died of a consumption, which had evidently commenced before he left England, and of which he had lingered during the whole voyage. His very gradual decay had long made him a melancholy object to his friends; yet the equanimity with which he bore it, the constant flow of good spirits, which continued to the last hour, and a cheerful resignation to his fate, afforded them some consolation. It was impossible not to feel a more than common degree of compassion for a person whose life had been a continued scene of those difficulties and hardships to which a seaman's occupation is subject, and under which he at last sunk. He was brought up to the navy from his earliest youth, and had been in several actions during the war which began in 1756, particularly in that between the *Bellona* and *Courageux*, where, being stationed in the mizzen-mast, he was carried overboard with the mast, but was taken up without having received any hurt. He was midshipman in the *Dolphin*, commanded by Commodore Byron, on her first voyage round the world, and afterwards served on the American station. In 1768 he made his second voyage round the world, in the *Endeavour*, as master's mate, and by the promotion which took place during the expedition, he returned a lieutenant. His third voyage round the world was in the *Resolution*, of which he was appointed second lieutenant, and soon after his return, in 1775, he was promoted to the rank of master and commander. When the present expedition was ordered to be fitted out, he was appointed to the *Discovery*, to accompany Captain Cook, and, by the death of the latter, succeeded, as has been already mentioned, to the chief command. It would be doing his memory extreme injustice not to say, that during the short time the expedition was under his direction, he was zealous and anxious for its success. His health, about the time the principal command devolved upon him, began to decline very rapidly, and was every way unequal to en-



counter the rigours of an Arctic climate. But the vigour and activity of his mind had in no shape suffered by the decay of his body ; and though he knew that, by delaying his return to a warmer climate, he was giving up the only chance that remained for his recovery, yet, careful and jealous to the last degree for the honour of the service, he persevered in the search for a passage, till it was the opinion of every officer of both ships that it was impracticable, and that any further attempts would be not only fruitless but dangerous.

I sent Mr. Williamson to acquaint Captain Gore with the death of Captain Clerke, and received a letter from him ordering me to use all my endeavours to keep in company with the *Discovery*, and in case of separation, to make the best of my way to the harbour of St. Peter and St. Paul.

On the 24th we anchored in the harbour of St. Peter and St. Paul, with our ensign half mast, on account of our carrying the body of our late captain, and were soon after followed by the *Discovery*.

In the morning of the 25th, Captain Gore made out the new commissions, in consequence of Captain Clerke's death, appointing himself to the command of the *Resolution*, and me to the command of the *Discovery* ; and Mr. Lanyon, master's mate of the *Resolution*, who had served in that capacity on board the *Adventure* in the former voyage, was promoted to the vacant lieutenancy. These promotions produced the following further arrangements ; Lieutenants Burney and Rickman were removed from the *Discovery* to be first and second lieutenants of the *Resolution* ; and Lieutenant Williamson was appointed first lieutenant of the *Discovery*. Captain Gore also permitted me to take into the *Discovery* four midshipmen, who made themselves useful to me in astronomical calculations, and whose assistance was now particularly necessary, as we had no ephemeris for the present year. And, that astronomical observations might continue to be made in both ships, Mr. Bayly took my place in the *Resolution*. Captain Gore sent the carpenters of the *Resolution* to assist those of the *Discovery* in repairing her ; and, accordingly, the fore-hold being cleared to lighten her forward, they were set to work to rip the damaged sheathing from her larboard bow. By this operation it was discovered

that three feet of the third strake, under the wale, were staved, and the timbers within started. A tent was next erected for the accommodation of such of our people as were employed on shore, and a party were sent a mile into the country to fell timber. The observatories were erected at the west end of the village, near a tent in which Captain Gore and myself took up our abode. The further we proceeded in removing the sheathing, the more we discovered the decayed state of the ship's hull.

As the season was now far advanced, I was fearful lest any delay or hindrance should arise, on our parts, to Captain Gore's further views of discovery, and therefore gave orders that no more sheathing should be ripped off than was absolutely necessary for repairing the damages sustained by the ice. In the afternoon of Sunday, the 29th of August, we paid the last offices to Captain Clerke. The officers and men of both ships walked in procession to the grave, whilst the ships fired minute-guns, and the service being ended, the marines fired three volleys. He was interred under a tree which stands on rising ground, in the valley to the north side of the harbour, where the hospital and store-houses are situated, Captain Gore having judged this situation most agreeable to the wishes of the deceased, who had particularly requested to be buried on shore. The Russian priest walked in the procession along with the gentleman who read the service, and all the Russians in the garrison were assembled, and behaved with great respect and solemnity.

On the 2nd of September, the carpenters having shifted the rotten and damaged planks, and repaired and caulked the sheathing of the larboard bow, proceeded to rip off the sheathing that had been injured by the ice, from the starboard side. Here again they discovered four feet of a plank, in the third strake under the wale, so shaken, as to make it necessary to be replaced. This was accordingly done, and the sheathing repaired on the 3rd; we also unhung the rudder, and sent it on shore, the lead of the pintles being found entirely worn away, and a great part of the sheathing rubbed off. The *Resolution* hauled on shore on the 8th, to repair some damage received in her cutwater from the ice, and our carpenters, in their turn, were sent to her assistance.

On the 11th the *Resolution* hauled off from the shore, having repaired the damages she had sustained by the ice, and having received some flour and stores, we were ready for sea on the 15th of September. The 22nd being the anniversary of his Majesty's coronation, twenty-one guns were fired, and the handsomest feast our situation would allow of was prepared, in honour of the day.

No occurrence worth mentioning took place till the 30th, when Captain Gore put up in the church where Captain Clerke was buried, an escutcheon, prepared by Mr. Webber, with an inscription setting forth his age and rank, and the object of the expedition in which he was engaged at the time of his decease. We also affixed to the tree under which he was buried a board, with an inscription upon it to the same effect. On the 2nd of October both ships warped out of the harbour, clear of the narrow passage, and came to anchor in seven fathoms, a quarter of a mile from the town. The 3rd was the name-day of the Empress of Russia, and we wanted no inducement to show it every possible respect. Accordingly Captain Gore invited the priest and the commander to dinner, and an entertainment was also provided for the rest of the people, who dined with the ships' companies, a pound of good fat beef being served out to each man, and what remained of our spirits was made into grog, and divided amongst them. A salute of twenty-one guns was fired at the usual hour ; and the whole was conducted in a manner not unworthy so renowned an empress. On the 5th of October we received from Bolcheretsk a fresh supply of tea, sugar, and tobacco ; and on the 9th, finally stood out of the bay.

Our instructions from the Board of Admiralty having left a discretionary power with the commanding officer of the expedition, in case of failure in the search of a passage from the Pacific into the Atlantic Ocean to return to England, by whatever route he should think best for the further improvement of geography, Captain Gore demanded of the principal officers their opinions, in writing, respecting the manner in which these orders might most effectually be obeyed. The result of our opinions, which he had the satisfaction to find unanimous and entirely coinciding with his own, was, that

the condition of the ships, of the sails and cordage, made it unsafe to attempt, at so advanced a season of the year, to navigate the sea between Japan and Asia, which would otherwise have afforded the largest field for discovery; that it was therefore advisable to keep to the eastward of that island, and in our way thither to run along the Kuriles, and examine more particularly the islands that lie nearest the northern coast of Japan, which are represented as of considerable size, and independent of the Russian and Japanese governments. Our next object was to survey the coast of the Japanese Islands, and afterward to make the coast of China, as far to the northward as we were able, and run along it to Macao. This plan being adopted, I received orders from Captain Gore, in case of separation, to proceed immediately to Macao; and at six o'clock in the evening of the 9th of October, having cleared the entrance of Awatska Bay, we steered to the south-east, and proceeded on our voyage. On the 29th of November we approached the coast of China, and saw several Chinese fishing-boats, who eyed us with great indifference. In the morning of the 30th we ran along the Lema Isles, which, like all other islands on this coast, are without wood, and, as far as we could observe, without cultivation. At seven o'clock we had precisely the same view of these islands as is represented in a plate of Lord Anson's voyage. Our fears of missing Macao, and being forced to Batavia, adding to the strong and eager desire of hearing from Europe, made us rejoice on seeing the *Resolution* soon after fire a gun, and hoist her colours as a signal for a pilot. On repeating the signal we saw an excellent race between four Chinese boats, and Captain Gore, having engaged with the man who arrived first to carry the ship to the Typa at Macao for thirty dollars, sent me word that, as we could easily follow, that expense might be saved to us. Soon after, a second pilot getting on board the *Resolution*, insisted on conducting the ship, and without further ceremony laid hold of the wheel, and began to order the sails to be trimmed. This occasioned a violent dispute, which at last was compromised by their agreeing to go shares in the money. In obedience to the instructions given to Captain Cook by the Board of Admiralty, it now became

necessary to demand of the officers and men their journals, and what other papers they might have in their possession relating to the history of our voyage. The execution of these orders seemed to require some delicacy as well as firmness. As soon, therefore, as I had assembled the ship's company on deck, I acquainted them with the orders we had received, and the reasons which I thought ought to induce them to yield a ready obedience. At the same time I told them that any papers which they were desirous not to have sent to the Admiralty should be sealed up in their presence, and kept in my own custody, till the intentions of the Board, with regard to the publication of the history of the voyage, were fulfilled; after which, they should be faithfully restored to them. My proposals met with the approbation and the cheerful compliance both of the officers and men; and I am persuaded that every scrap of paper containing any transactions relating to the voyage were given up. Indeed, it is bare justice to the seamen of this ship to declare that they were the most obedient and the best disposed men I ever knew, though almost all of them were very young, and had never before served in a ship of war. The intelligence we had just received of the state of affairs in Europe made us the more anxious to hasten our departure; and I therefore immediately attempted to procure a passage to Canton, but without effect. The *Resolution* saluted the Portuguese fort with eleven guns, which were returned by the same number; and early on the 4th we stood into the Typa, and moored with the stream anchor.

Much delay occurred in procuring the necessary supplies from Canton, but at length, on the 30th of December, they arrived, and were immediately stowed in due proportions on board the two ships. On the 11th of January, 1780, two seamen belonging to the *Resolution* found means to run off with a six-oared cutter, and, notwithstanding that diligent search was made, we were never able to learn any tidings of her or the runaways. At noon on the 12th of January we unmoored and scaled\* the guns, which, on board my ship, now amounted to ten, so that, by means of four additional

\* "Scaling" is cleaning the inside of a gun by the explosion of a reduced quantity of powder.

ports, we could, if occasion required, fight seven on a side ; in like manner, the *Resolution* had increased the number of her guns from twelve to sixteen, and in both ships a stout barricade was carried round their upper works, and every other precaution taken to give our small force as respectable an appearance as possible. We thought it our duty to provide ourselves with these means of defence, though we had some reason to believe that the generosity of our enemies had, in a great measure, rendered them superfluous. We were informed at Canton that the public prints which had arrived last from England made mention of instructions having been found on board all the French ships of war captured in Europe, directing their commanders, in case of falling in with the ships that sailed under the command of Captain Cook, to suffer them to proceed on their voyage without molestation. The same orders were also said to have been given by the American Congress to the vessels employed in their service. As this intelligence was further confirmed by the private letters of the supercargoes, Captain Gore thought himself bound, in return for the liberal exceptions made in our favour, to refrain from availing himself of any opportunities of capture which these seas might afford, and to preserve throughout his voyage the strictest neutrality. Having got under weigh at two in the afternoon, the *Resolution* saluted the fort of Macao with eleven guns, which was returned with the same number.

On the 20th of January, 1780, we reached Pulo Condore,\* and on the 28th unmoored, and stood for the Straits of Banca, after passing through which the ship's head was steered for the Straits of Sunda. On the 9th of February we learnt from a Dutch ship of war, which had been seven months from Europe and three from the Cape of Good Hope, that before she sailed France and Spain had declared war against Great Britain, and that she left Sir Edward Hughes, with a squadron of men-of-war and a fleet of East India ships at the Cape. On the 11th we anchored at Prince's Island, when Lieutenant Lanyan, who had been

\* Pulo signifies in the Malay tongue "an island," and Condore "a calabash," of which it produces great quantities. The island is high and mountainous, and is eight miles long and a breadth of two miles.

here with Captain Cook in 1770, was sent, along with the master, to look for the watering-place. The natives came off to us soon after we anchored, and brought a plentiful supply of large fowls, and some turtles. In the course of the day we heeled the ship and scrubbed her bottom, which was very foul, and got her ready for sea. On the 19th, favoured by a fair breeze from the north-west, we broke ground for the last time in the Straits of Sunda, and the next day had lost sight of Prince's Island. During the whole time of our run from thence to the Cape of Good Hope, the crew of the *Resolution* was in a much more tickly state than that of the *Discovery*; for though many of us continued for some time complaining of the effects of the noxious climate we had left, yet happily we all recovered.

Land was sighted on the 7th of April, and two days later, a snow\* was seen bearing down to us, which proved to be an English East India packet, that had left Table Bay three days before, and was cruising with orders for the China fleet, and other India ships. She told us that, about three weeks before, a French squadron, consisting of six ships, had sailed from the Cape, and was gone to cruise off St. Helena, for our East India fleet. Variable winds prevented our getting into False Bay till the evening of the 12th, when we dropped anchor abreast of Simon's Bay. We found lying here the *Nassau* and *Southampton* East Indiamen, waiting for convoy for Europe. The *Resolution* saluted the fort with eleven guns, and the same number was returned. Mr. Brandt, the governor of this place, came to visit us as soon as we had anchored. This gentleman had conceived a great affection for Captain Cook, who had been his constant guest during his many visits to the Cape; and though he had received the news of his melancholy fate some time before, he was exceedingly affected at the sight of our ships returning without their old commander. He appeared much surprised to see our crew in so stout and healthy a con-

\* A snow resembles a brig. It has two masts similarly rigged to the main and fore masts of a ship, and close abaft the main-mast a try-mast. Snows only differ from brigs in that the boom-mainsail is hooped to the mast in the brig, and in the snow traverses on the try-sail-mast.

dition, as the Dutch ship that had left Macao on our arrival there, and had touched at the Cape some time before, reported that we were in a most wretched state, having only fourteen hands left on board the *Resolution*, and seven on board the *Discovery*.

On the 15th I accompanied Captain Gore to Cape Town ; and the next morning we waited on Baron Plettenberg, the governor, by whom we were received with every possible attention and civility. He had also conceived a great personal affection for Captain Cook, as well as the highest admiration for his character, and heard the recital of his death with many expressions of unaffected sorrow. In one of the principal apartments of the governor's house he showed us two pictures of Van Tromp and De Ruyter, with a vacant space left between them, which he said he meant to fill up with the portrait of Captain Cook ; and, for that purpose, he requested our assistance when we should arrive in England in purchasing one for him at any price. We were afterwards informed by the governor, that all the powers at this time at war with England had given orders to their cruisers to let us pass unmolested. This, as far as related to the French, we had sufficient reason to think true, as Mr. Brandt had already delivered to Captain Gore a letter from Mr. Stephens, Secretary to the Admiralty, enclosing a copy of Mons. de Sartine's orders, taken on board the *Licorne*. With respect to the Americans, the matter still rested on report ; but Baron Plettenberg assured us that he had been expressly told by the commander of a Spanish ship, which had touched at the Cape, that he and all the officers of this nation had received orders to the same effect. These assurances confirmed Captain Gore in the resolution he had taken of maintaining, on his part, a neutral conduct ; and accordingly, when, on the arrival of the *Sybil* to convey the India ships home, it was proposed to him to accompany them on their passage, he thought it proper to decline the offer. Having completed our victualling, and furnished ourselves with the necessary supplies, we sailed out of the bay on the 9th of May. On the 12th of June we crossed the equator for the fourth time during our voyage ; and on the 12th of August made the western coast of Ireland, and after



a fruitless attempt to get into Port Galway, from whence it was Captain Gore's intention to have sent the journals and maps of our voyage to London, we were obliged, by strong southerly winds, to steer to the northward. Our next object was to put into Lough Swilly, but the winds continuing in the same quarter, we stood on to the northward of Lewis Island; and on the 22nd of August, at eleven in the morning, both ships came to an anchor at Stromness. From hence I was dispatched by Captain Gore to acquaint the Board of Admiralty with our arrival; and on the 4th day of October the ships arrived safe at the Nore, after an absence of four years, two months, and twenty-two days. On quitting the *Discovery* at Stromness, I had the satisfaction of leaving the whole crew in perfect health; and at the same time the number of convalescents on board the *Resolution* did not exceed two or three, of whom only one was incapable of service. In the course of our voyage, the *Resolution* lost but five men by sickness, three of whom were in a precarious state of health at our departure from England. The *Discovery* did not lose a man. An unremitting attention to the regulations laid down by Captain Cook may be justly considered as the principal cause, under the blessing of Divine Providence, of this singular success. Another circumstance attending this voyage, which, if we consider its duration, and the nature of the service in which we were engaged, will appear scarcely less singular than the extraordinary healthiness of the crews was, that the two ships never lost sight of each other for a day together, except twice. The first time this was owing to an accident that happened to the *Discovery* off the coast of Owhyhee; and the second, to the fogs we met with at the entrance of Awatska Bay. A stronger proof cannot be given of the skill and vigilance of our subaltern officers, to whom this share of merit almost entirely belongs.

Let us also add what the modesty of Captain King shrinks from recording, that the happy, and perhaps unprecedented immunity from sickness and death enjoyed by the crews of these two ships, and their successful navigation through unknown seas, were results chiefly due to the two commanders who so conscientiously carried out the sanitary and disciplinary regulations of

Captain Cook. Captains Gore and King had left England in 1776, as first and second lieutenants of the *Resolution*, and returned as captains respectively of that ship and the *Discovery*. During the years 1776-79, occupied by Captain Cook in prosecuting the discoveries which have rendered his last voyage at once the most memorable and most tragic of the three, this country had been engaged in her disastrous struggle with the thirteen colonies in North America ; but though, from a political or military point of view, we have no cause to plume ourselves on the success of our statesmen and generals, the navy, at least, added to its laurels. This was due, however, not to the victories of its admirals,\* but to the achievements of Captain Cook in the more peaceful domain of science and discovery, in which our naval officers, from the days of Willoughby and Frobisher, have ever been ardent votaries.

Before concluding this narrative of Captain Cook's voyages, we will briefly summarise the additions made by him to our geographical and hydrographical knowledge. After his services at the siege of Quebec, where he examined the channels of the St. Lawrence and its shores in the vicinity of Quebec, he surveyed a considerable distance of the river below that city. In 1762, while master of Lord Colville's flag-ship, the *Northumberland*, he surveyed the harbour of Placentia, and in the following year examined some dangerous parts on the south coast of Newfoundland. In 1764 his former friend and patron, Sir Hugh Palliser, appointed him Surveyor-General of Newfoundland and Labrador, and gave him the command of a small vessel

\* During these years, 1776-79, the general actions fought by our admirals were all more or less indecisive. On June 28th, 1776, Sir Peter Parker was repulsed at Charleston. Lord Howe's action with Count d'Estaing on 18th August, 1778, and Admiral Keppel's with Count d'Orville nine days later, were both indecisive, and the latter gave rise to a court-martial, in which Sir Hugh Palliser, Captain Cook's old commander and patron, preferred charges against the Commander-in-Chief, for mismanagement and "unofficer-like conduct," which, however, resulted in the admiral's acquittal. A third indecisive action was fought between Admiral Byron and Count d'Estaing off Grenada, in the West Indies, on the 6th July, 1779. It was not until Sir George Rodney's memorable defeat of the Count de Grasse, on the 12th April, 1780, that the British Navy entered upon its career of victory, though Nelson at the Nile and Trafalgar gave to British seamen the most instructive lessons in the art of annihilating an enemy's fleet.

named the *Granville*, to assist him in carrying on his operations. In this vessel he surveyed the whole of the west coast of Newfoundland, and the south coast from the entrance of the Gulf as far east as Cape Chapeau Rouge, with their various bays and inlets, which from the rocky nature of the island are very numerous, particularly on the southern shore. These surveys were published shortly after their completion, and are the materials from which all other charts of this part of the coast have since been constructed.\*

The south coast between Cape Roy, the westernmost point of Newfoundland, and Cape Chapeau Rouge, including the islands of Miquelon and St. Peter, was published on one sheet. Another contains the whole western coast; and the Straits of Belle Isle, formed by the northern part of the island and the opposite coast of Labrador, were given in another sheet. The whole extent of coast surveyed by Mr. Cook is about 600 miles, and its various windings and indentations would probably increase it by half that distance. Charts of the various harbours on the coast were published on a large scale, with suitable directions, and the whole examined with such care as to require no revision. Mr. Cook's employment in the capacity of Surveyor-General continued until 1767, during which time he had not confined his attention to his duties as Surveyor, but devoted himself to loftier pursuits, which in their turn proved the means of recommending him for a higher occupation, and formed the groundwork of his future brilliant success. The Government having determined about this time to explore the unknown seas of the southern hemisphere, Captains Byron, Wallis, and Carteret prosecuted their researches with some success; and when the Royal Society obtained the consent of the Admiralty for the despatch of a ship to observe the transit of Venus, it was decided that discovery should be the object of the expedition.

\* The south-east part of Newfoundland, between Cape Chapeau Rouge and Cape Bonavista on the east coast, was afterwards surveyed by Lieutenant Lane, R.N., and published, with sailing directions, on a more extensive scale than the west coast. This is contained in three sheets, comprising the Bay of Placentia, Conception and Trinity Bays. The remainder of the coast between Cape Bonavista and the Straits of Belle Isle was surveyed by the late Admiral Bullock, who was employed several years on this service, the results of which were published by the Admiralty in three large sheets.

When this was completed, Mr. Dalrymple, who advocated the existence of a southern continent, was chosen by the Royal Society to conduct the voyage, Captain Cook being at the time absent in America. An application was made to Sir Edward Hawke, who then presided at the Admiralty, for a commission for that gentleman, but the admiral declined the request. At this juncture Sir Hugh Palliser proposed Lieutenant Cook, and the recommendation being supported by Mr. Stephens, Secretary of the Admiralty, Mr. Cook was appointed to the *Endeavour*, and sailed early in August, 1768. His labours as a surveyor, during his first voyage, commenced in Tierra del Fuego, where he traced the coast as far as Cape St. Vincent and the Bay of Good Success, in the Straits of Le Maire, which he surveyed; the former charts, formed from the rough sketches of Hermite in 1624, and of its discoverers, Schouten and Le Maire, being practically useless. On his way to Cape Horn, the terrors of which he was the first navigator to decry, Captain Cook traced the south-eastern shore of Tierra del Fuego, with the islands lying off it, and his chart of this coast is accompanied with useful instructions to the seaman. Having taken a departure from Cape Horn,\* the first land Captain Cook saw was Lagoon Island, which he named, and further west Thrumcap Island, and other coral islets off the "Dangerous Archipelago," so called because they afford no anchorage for a vessel, the water close to their shores being over 100 fathoms in depth, similar to the island to the northward, which was visited by Commodore Byron in 1765, but which, though his men were dying of scurvy, he was unable to visit, whence he gave it the name of "Disappointment Island."

On the 13th of May, 1769, Captain Cook anchored in Matavai Bay, in the island of Otaheite, and the interval afforded by the delay in waiting for the transit of Venus he employed in examining its shores, as well as those of the adjacent island of Eimeo, called by Captain Wallis, Duke of York's Island.

\* In his "Extracts from a Journal," Captain Hall well describes Cape Horn as presenting "under every aspect, a bold and majestic appearance. It is a high, precipitous, black rock, conspicuously raised above all the neighbouring land, utterly destitute of vegetation, and extending far into the sea in black and solitary grandeur."

The survey map constructed by Captain Cook is on a small scale, but, considering the general nature of the coast, was considered,\* until recently, sufficient for the navigator, as he supplied a separate plan of Matavai Bay, the eastern point of which he named Point Venus, from its being the site of his observatory. Having accomplished the object of his visit to Otaheite, Captain Cook left the island in July, 1769; from hence he pursued his course to the north-west, and after ascertaining the situation of a small island to the northward of Otaheite, discovered the group to which he gave collectively the name of the Society Islands. The first of these islands at which the *Endeavour* arrived was Huaheine, distant about ninety miles to the north-west of Otaheite. The *Endeavour* entered the harbour of Owharre on the north-west coast, of which, in point of its safety for vessels, Captain Cook speaks very highly. Passing from hence, he arrived at Ulitea, about twenty miles to the west of the former. This is the most considerable of the Society Islands, and contains several excellent harbours, which Captain Cook, with the assistance of his master and other officers, carefully examined. The principal harbour, Oopoa, which the *Endeavour* entered according to Captain Cook's survey, is most secure and easy of access. In addition to the plans of the principal harbours, as well as a delineation of their coasts from his observations, Captain Cook constructed a chart of these islands, with descriptions and directions for future navigators.

Leaving the Society Islands, Captain Cook directed his course to the southward, to ascertain the existence of the southern continent, and on his way fell in with Oheteroa, a small solitary island in lat.  $22^{\circ} 27'$  S., and long.  $150^{\circ} 47'$  W. As this afforded neither anchorage nor shelter he quitted it, and continued on to the lat.  $40^{\circ} 22'$  S., where, on the meridian of  $174^{\circ} 29'$  W., not meeting with land, he returned to the northward. Continuing his course to the north-west on the 8th of October, 1769, he anchored in a bay on the north-east part of New Zealand, which Captain Cook named Poverty Bay. Having examined its shores, and endeavoured in vain to conciliate the natives, he left it and coasted along the

\* See a paper on Captain Cook's Hydrographical Labours in "The United Service Journal," Part 2, 1809.

island to the southward. In his track along the coast, the various points and headlands were named by him; and continuing his examination of the coast as far as  $40^{\circ} 34'$  S. lat. he named a conspicuous point of land "Cape Turnagain," and retraced his course to the northward. In his course along the coast to the northward, the unfavourable opinion he had entertained of the natives, from his first intercourse with them in Poverty Bay, was in some measure removed by those he met with in Tolaga Bay, a place he had stopped at for the purpose of procuring a supply of water. Passing the eastern extremity of the island, he named it Cape East, from whence the coast trends to the northward and westward. The principal place on this part of the coast is a large deep bay, which he named the Thames, in consequence of its favourable qualities for affording security to shipping. Here some time was passed in examining the interior, as well as the shores of the island, and Captain Cook, aware of the great advantages it possessed, devoted much attention to this particular. He has left us a plan of the bay, as well as the outer shore of the promontory by which it is formed, in which is situated Mercury Bay, equally secure but not so spacious as this, so called from his having observed the planet's transit over the sun.

The *Endeavour* had now arrived at the northern extremity of New Zealand, which Captain Cook named North Cape, and passing Cape Van Diemen, the north-west extreme, which was said to have been so named by Tasman\* in 1642, he continued his course along the western coast. New Zealand had hitherto been supposed to consist of one island only, from the accounts of it in "Tasman's Voyage," and it was now Captain Cook's fortune to discover the strait by

\* Tasman, after discovering Van Diemen's Land, which was then supposed to be connected with New Holland, whose western and southern coasts had been visited by his predecessors De Witt and others of his countrymen, directed his course to the eastward and fell in with the western coast of New Zealand. In his course to the northward, after his disasters in Murderer's Bay, where nearly half the crew of his vessel fell victims to the natives, he named the north-west extreme of the island Cape Van Diemen, and touched at New Guinea on his return to Batavia. New Zealand is also supposed to have been known to the early Portuguese navigators about the year 1550, for we find "Cape East" of Cook called "Cabo Férmoso" by them; but it remained for Cook to explore and determine its limits, as well as to secure the possession of it to his country.

which it is intersected. In his track along the coast he entered this strait, and came to an anchor in a large deep bay, which he named Queen Charlotte's Sound ; here he took formal possession of the whole country, and employed some time in examining the coast. Queen Charlotte's Sound is about twenty-four miles in depth, and about nine miles across at the entrance ; it contains several excellent harbours, of which Captain Cook has given particular accounts.

In February, 1770, the *Endeavour* left Queen Charlotte's Sound, and was the first ship that penetrated through the strait which bears his name, naming the north-east point of the strait Cape Palliser ; and following the coast to the northward, Captain Cook soon recognised Cape Turnagain, and having thus circumnavigated the northern island of New Zealand, he again returned to the southward. In his tracks along the eastern shore of the southern island of New Zealand, he named Banks' Peninsula, and the next principal point he called Cape Saunders, after Admiral Sir Charles Saunders, under whom he had served at the siege of Quebec. From here, after naming successively South and West Capes, he traced the western coast up to Admiralty Bay in Cook's Strait.

He had now circumnavigated an extent of coast containing about two thousand miles ; and having made particular surveys of the bays he had visited, where it did not delay his voyage, the intervening coasts were laid down as he sailed along them. To have adopted any other method of surveying them was not in his power, as discovery of coasts, rather than a critical examination of them, was the object he had in view. It seems to have been the intention of Captain Cook to have returned to England by way of Cape Horn, had not the condition of his vessel been such as to make him unwilling to encounter the effects of its boisterous climate. And as it now became necessary to direct his course homewards, he resolved to continue to the west, in hopes of falling in with the land seen by Quiros,\* and to return to England by way of the Cape of Good Hope. With this intention he left Cook's Strait, and named the southern cape at its

\* Quiros served as pilot with Torres in his voyage from Callao, in 1605, when he discovered the famous strait which bears his name. The station of pilot on board Spanish ships is one of much respectability, and nearly approaches that of master in our navy.

western entrance, Cape Farewell. By this step further discoveries awaited him of a yet more important nature than those he had already effected. Pursuing his course to the westward from New Zealand, on the 19th of April, 1770, the *Endeavour* arrived near the southern extremity of Australia,\* and following the coast to the northward, Captain Cook named the various points and headlands which he passed, assigning to each their geographical situations. The first place at which he stopped was the celebrated spot he named Botany Bay, from the vast quantity of specimens it afforded in that science. During his stay he made a plan of the shores of the bay, and drew up directions for entering it.

Leaving Botany Bay, the *Endeavour* pursued her course along the coast without meeting with any particular difficulties until she arrived in the latitude of 16° S. Here Captain Cook found himself in that labyrinth of rocks on the coast which had nearly proved fatal to his vessel. "Hitherto," he says, "we had safely navigated this dangerous coast, where the sea in all parts conceals shoals that suddenly project from the shore, and rocks that rise like a pyramid from the bottom, for an extent of two-and-twenty degrees of latitude, more than 1,300 miles; and, therefore, hitherto none of the names that distinguished the several parts of the country we saw are memorials of distress; but here we became acquainted with misfortune, and we therefore called the point which we had just seen furthest to the northward, Cape Tribulation." On one of the reefs the *Endeavour* unfortunately grounded, and, from lying on it nearly twenty-four hours, sustained considerable injury. Happily, however, the exertions of all on board were effectual in getting her off, and the fruits of the voyage were thus rescued from destruction. With some difficulty Captain Cook succeeded in getting her into an inlet on the coast, which he named Endeavour River. From hence, threading his course between the reefs, he passed the northern extremity

\* We have here an instance of the slow progress of discovery even in later times. Although Van Diemen's Land was discovered by Tasman in 1642, and Captain Cook arrived at the southernmost point of Australia in 1770, they were supposed to be connected together until 1799, when Captain Flinders, accompanied by Mr. Bass, discovered the strait which separates them, and gave it the name of Bass's Strait.



of Australia, to which he gave the name of Cape York, and finally departed from the coast through Endeavour Straits. Captain Cook had thus the good fortune to discover and explore the whole eastern coast of Australia, and it is a matter of some surprise that the voyages of the early Dutch navigators, who had seen the several parts of the western coast, should not have extended to this. His chart of this coast, containing nearly 2,000 miles, which he had constructed in his progress along it, was far from being perfect ; but it was highly valuable in the absence of all other information. The coast he had explored, as well as the other shores of this vast continent, remained for the future researches of Captain Flinders, Captain P. P. King, and other later surveyors. Having left Endeavour Strait, Captain Cook directed his course to New Guinea, and coasted along a part of its south-west shore ; but the injuries his vessel had sustained compelled him to hasten his departure for Batavia. Having refitted at this place, and re-established the health of his crew, after touching at the Cape of Good Hope, he arrived in England in June 1771, to surprise the world with the account of his discoveries.

Allusion has been made to a publication of Mr. Dalrymple's, on the existence of a southern continent. This work appeared in 1770. Although various opinions were ventured on its probability, previous to the *Endeavour's* voyage, inferred from his observation that the vast extent of land in the northern hemisphere required a corresponding portion in the southern, to preserve that which, in the minds of philosophers, seemed to be a just equilibrium, or, as it was termed, "the analogy of nature"—Mr. Dalrymple, in his ardour to establish the existence of a southern continent, followed up with unsparing perseverance the accounts of various early navigators ; and never was any one more widely misled than he was by the accounts of Tasman and Juan Fernandez. The former, he asserted, had discovered its western limit (which proved to be the western coast of New Zealand), and the latter had established the existence of its eastern. These comprised a space of no less than one hundred degrees of longitude, and imagining the land to extend from about thirty degrees of south latitude towards the Pole, he calculated that

It should contain at least fifty millions of inhabitants. It is the more remarkable that he should have been so much misled, as he admits that the accounts of the early voyagers were vague; and we find the western coast of South America, with the island of Juan Fernandez and Easter Island, very tolerably laid down in his chart published with the work. But so certain was he of the justness of his opinion, that even the return of the *Endeavour* from circumnavigating New Zealand did not alter it; and the land reported by Juan Fernandez, in 40° S. latitude, with more stated to have been seen by Dutch navigators, both north and south of it, still remained in his chart.

Whatever may be said for the reasons that induced Mr. Dalrymple to form his conclusions, his investigations of a subject of such importance were well timed, and served to keep alive that spirit of research which had happily taken root, and which the advanced period of the age absolutely demanded. Although his theory turned out to be founded on misstatements, we are indebted to him for being instrumental in proving it erroneous. As the part of the world which was the theatre of his speculations remained yet unexplored, no one could contradict him, and his opinion was received with that degree of attention which was due to one who had spared neither time nor labour to investigate this all-important subject.\* The success which had attended the

\* Alexander Dalrymple, the seventh out of sixteen children of Sir James Dalrymple, was born at New Hailes on the 24th of July, 1737. He received little or no education, and it was not until after he had gone out to Madras as a writer in 1758, that he taught himself accounts, and the French and Spanish languages. In 1759 he was sent on a voyage to the Eastern Islands, and acquired much nautical experience. In 1765 he returned to England, and published several charts and plans of coasts and anchorages. He went back to Madras as a Member of Council under Lord Pigot in 1776, and finally went home in 1777. Two years afterwards he received the official appointment of hydrographer to the East India Company. Dalrymple was a most indefatigable collector of geographical materials. Rennell acknowledges the assistance he received from him in the preparation of his great map of Hindustan; and Dr. Vincent was indebted to him for the maps and charts to illustrate his great work, "The Voyage of Nearchus." Dalrymple, in 1770, translated from the Spanish and published the voyages of Magellan, Juan Fernandez, Mandana and Quiros, Le Maire and Schouten, Tasman and Roggewein; and Admiral Burney, in the preface to his great work on "Voyages in the Pacific," says that the above translations of Dalrymple were his *opere magnum*, and that he was largely indebted to their author. He gave innumerable tracts to the world on various subjects, which are

*Endeavour's* voyage bespoke her commander a fit person to set this question at rest. In addition to his qualities as a seaman, and his scientific attainments, the uniform health which he had preserved among his crew alone signalled him from all former navigators. He was, therefore, selected for the expedition, and appointed to the *Drake* on the 28th of November, 1771, though this name not being considered altogether consonant with the character of the voyage "in contemplation, was changed to the *Resolution*, on which account he received a fresh appointment to the command, dated the 25th of December, 1771. The *Adventure*, commanded by Captain Furneaux, was appointed to accompany him, and fully equipped and prepared, the two ships finally quitted Plymouth on the 13th of July, 1772.\* From the Cape of Good Hope he sailed, in pursuance of the object of his voyage, in November, 1772, in search of land towards the south, not, however, within those limits in which Mr. Dalrymple supposed it to exist. After penetrating as far as lat.  $67^{\circ} 15'$  S. on the meridian of  $38^{\circ}$  E., and again into  $61^{\circ} 52'$  in long.  $95^{\circ}$  E., without discovering land, having parted from the *Adventure* in bad weather, the *Resolution* proceeded to New Zealand. Her consort, the *Adventure*, directed her course to Van Diemen's Land, which Captain Furneaux then imagined to be connected with Australia. He stood into the eastern entrance of Bass's Strait, and was deceived by King's Island, and the others lying near it, which led him to suppose it to be nothing more than a deep bay. This he afterwards reported to Captain Cook at New Zealand, and prevented him from exploring it.

bound up in three volumes in the Royal Geographical Society's library, and also collected tracts on the geography, commerce, and products of the East, bound - in two volumes, and known as the "Oriental Repository." Dalrymple's strictly official work is represented by 38 charts, 740 plans, and 57 views of coasts—in all 855 plates, besides 50 nautical memoirs. In 1795 the office of hydrographer to the Admiralty was created, and Dalrymple was the first to hold it, together with the same post at the India House. He filled it until 1808, when, on the 28th of May, he was summarily dismissed by Lord Mulgrave, and died on the 29th of June following.—(C. R. Markham's *Memoir on the Indian Surveys*).

\* Whilst we are considering the benefits which the science of Hydrography has received from Captain Cook, we must not omit noticing a paper "On the Tides in the Pacific," which he had supplied, drawn up from his observations during the last voyage. This was read before the Royal Society, and will be found in Volume 6s of the "Philosophical Transactions."

The first discovery Captain Cook made, after leaving his old anchorage in Queen Charlotte's Sound, was a small island of the "Dangerous Archipelago," which he named Resolution Island; and shortly afterwards, on his way to Otaheite, he named two others Doubtful and Furneaux Islands. After a few days passed at the Society Islands he left them, in September, 1773, and directed his course to the westward. His next discovery was Hervey Island; and passing Amsterdam and Middleburgh Islands, of Tasman, the southernmost of the Friendly Islands, the *Resolution* again anchored in Queen Charlotte's Sound, New Zealand. By adopting this course he had renovated the health of his crew, and prepared them for encountering the severities to which they would become exposed in his voyage to the southward, besides employing in discovery the time that intervened until the southern summer.

Having previously parted from the *Adventure*, Captain Cook left Queen Charlotte's Sound, and steered well to the southward. He continued his course as far as  $67^{\circ} 31' S.$  lat. in 'long.  $142^{\circ} 54' W.$ , where, from the prevalence of icebergs, he was compelled to return to the northward. The *Resolution* was now in the situation which was assigned to the supposed land, and her track fully displays the pains which her commander took to discover or set aside the possibility of its existence. Having reached the latitude of  $48^{\circ} S.$  he again directed his course to the southward, and penetrated to lat.  $71^{\circ} 10' S.$ , long.  $106^{\circ} 54' W.$  Meeting here again with icebergs, he directed his course to the northward, taking care to keep close to the meridian in which the land was said to have been seen by Tasman and Juan Fernandez. The *Resolution* now directed her course to Easter Island, called St. Carlos, Davis, or Pascua, which is a translation of Easter Island. The *Resolution* lost no time here, but proceeded immediately to the Marquesas, a small group lying to the north-east of the Society Islands. These were known to the Spaniards, having been discovered by Mendana in 1595, in his voyage from Callao. Captain Cook had some difficulty, on account of reefs, in getting anchorage here, but succeeded in obtaining it in a bay of the island of St. Christina, which he named Resolution Bay, being the same which Mendana

had called the Bay of Madre de Dios. From the Marquesas the *Resolution* proceeded to Otaheite, and discovered on her way a small group, which was named Palliser Islands. After leaving the Society Islands, the first land discovered was Palmerston Island, lying about half-way between the Society and Friendly Islands, which was named after Lord Palmerston, then in the Admiralty. Savage Island was next discovered, and received its name from the hostile conduct of the natives. After touching again at Rotterdam, Turtle Island was discovered in long.  $178^{\circ}$  W., and from thence the *Resolution* avoided the Fiji Islands by keeping, rather a southerly coast. The land next seen was Aurora Island of the New Hebrides, a considerable group of islands, through the midst of which Bougainville had passed in 1768, and had named the "Archipelago of the great Cyclades." They were discovered by Quiros in 1606, but the accounts of them were vague, and they were supposed to form part of the southern continent, until satisfactorily explored by Captain Cook.

On the 4th of September, 1774, the *Resolution* arrived on the northern coast of New Caledonia, so named by her commander. The friendly disposition of the natives here enabled him to observe the eclipse of the sun, which took place on the second day after his arrival. He coasted along the northern shore of this island, ascertaining its limits; and from thence, on his way to New Zealand, discovered Norfolk Island, which was the only considerable one he found uninhabited. Captain Cook now determined on quitting the Pacific, and, in order that no part of the Southern Ocean lying between his former tracks might remain unexplored, he proposed running to Tierra del Fuego, between the parallels of  $54^{\circ}$  and  $55^{\circ}$ . The *Resolution* accordingly sailed from New Zealand in November, and made Landfall Island, on the coast of Tierra del Fuego, on the 17th of December following. He was now on a coast which it had been hitherto the study of everyone to avoid, and thus was left to him the credit of ascertaining the S.W. limits of this land, as in his first voyage he had the south-eastern. Continuing to the south-east along the coast, he determined the position, and named the various points between Landfall Island and Christmas Sound, in which latter place he anchored to refit,

and procure those supplies which this dreary country could afford towards renovating the health of his crew. From Christmas Sound the *Resolution* proceeded on her course round Cape Horn. Captain Cook having determined to explore the shore of Staten Island, after doubling Cape St. John, entered New Year's Harbour, of which he made a chart. In addition to his account of its shores, he gives the navigator some further valuable remarks on the Strait of Le Maire. Leaving this island, the *Resolution* again stood to the S.E. in search of land, stated by Mr. Dalrymple to exist in that direction; and on the 14th of January, 1775, discovered a large island, on which the name of Georgia was bestowed. Captain Cook explored the coasts of this island, and took possession of it, although, as he observes, it could be no very desirable appendage to his Majesty's new possessions. From New Georgia the *Resolution* continued to the eastward, and shortly fell in with land, which was named Sandwich Land, after Lord Sandwich, then First Lord of the Admiralty. Having ascertained its limits, and named the various points of the coast, after another unsuccessful search to the southward for land, the *Resolution* arrived at the Cape on the 22nd of February, and returned to Spithead on the 30th of July following. Captain Cook was of opinion that land did exist near the South Pole, a supposition which has since been proved to be correct, from the discoveries of Weddell and Ross; but he proved by his track that it did not exist to the northward of 60° S. latitude, and, as he says, "he had traversed the ocean in such a manner as to leave no doubt that there is no continent unless near the Pole, and out of the reach of navigation." He had now returned from another voyage as successful as his former, in each of which he had circumnavigated the globe. In his first he had made discoveries of unknown coasts of considerable extent, after effecting the principal object of the voyage. In his second, which was chiefly intended to substantiate or set aside the existence of a southern continent, he had shown that it did not extend to the northward of 60° latitude, but had discovered many islands of the Pacific. The New Hebrides, although known to the Spaniards long before he visited them, as to their situation,

were unknown as to their number or extent, and had been supposed to form part of a southern continent. For these services he was promoted to the rank of post-captain on the 9th of August, 1775, and received an appointment as one of the captains of Greenwich Hospital.

The unsuccessful attempt of Lord Mulgrave to reach the Pole in the *Racehorse* and *Carcass* in 1773, whilst Captain Cook was exploring the southern hemisphere, induced him to offer his services to the Government. His former successful voyages, in which he had displayed a peculiar firmness and perseverance, bespoke him as one well adapted for the undertaking; and Lord Sandwich, then First Lord of the Admiralty, appointed him to the command of his former ship, the *Resolution*, with Captain Clerke to accompany him in the *Discovery*. On the 12th of July, 1776, the *Resolution* finally sailed from Plymouth, and was joined by the *Discovery* at the Cape of Good Hope, on the expedition from which neither of the commanders were to return. The first object of this voyage was to ascertain the situation of the islands discovered by Crozet, the French navigator, lying to the south-east of the Cape. These were now examined, and named Prince Edward's Islands, and the position of four others ascertained, which were left with the name of their discoverer. The ships next proceeded to Kerguelen. They afterwards coasted along the eastern shore, and with some difficulty succeeded in getting into a harbour, which was named Port Palliser. Continuing along the eastern coast, its limits were defined, and thus was removed all idea of this land being connected with any other extending from the South Pole, as Kerguelen (a lieutenant in the French service) had imagined when he discovered it in 1771. From this land the two ships directed their course for Van Diemen's Land, where they shortly arrived, and put into Adventure Bay, on the southern coast. A rock lying off South Cape of Van Diemen's Land received the name of the Eddystone, from its resemblance to that lighthouse. No time was lost here, and the ships proceeded immediately to New Zealand. Leaving New Zealand on their way to the northward, the islands Mangua and Wateea were discovered, from whence they proceeded to Hervey's Island, which had been dis-

covered in the former voyage. From hence they continued their course to Amsterdam Island. Captain Cook devoted some time to an investigation of the Friendly Islands, an Archipelago which required more time thoroughly to explore than he could bestow. "Sixty-one of these islands," he says, "have their proper places marked upon our charts of the Friendly Islands, and on the sketch of the harbour of Tongataboo, to both of which I refer the reader. But it must be left to future navigators to introduce into the geography of this part of the South Pacific Ocean the exact situation and size of near a hundred more islands in this neighbourhood, which we had not an opportunity to explore." A glance at the chart of this part will convince anyone of the labyrinth of small islands and sunken dangers which prevail here, and there is no doubt that the northern part of these were the same as Tasman's "Prince William's Islands." From the friendly disposition of the natives, Captain Cook was enabled to obtain satisfactory observations for the geographical situation of those he saw, and named them the Friendly Islands. In July, 1777, the ships left these islands, and on their way to Otaheite, discovered the small island of Toobouai, in lat.  $23^{\circ} 25'$  and long.  $150^{\circ}$  W., and in the middle of August arrived in Matavai Bay, Otaheite. The time between this and December was employed in preparing for the principal object of the voyage to the northward when they quitted Otaheite. Having crossed the equator, Christmas Island was discovered in  $2^{\circ}$  North latitude and  $170^{\circ} 30'$  West longitude, and was so called from that day being passed there. Pursuing their course to the northward, they next arrived at the westernmost of the Sandwich Islands, a discovery which was destined to prove fatal to its author. The island Atooi, with four small islands, were all that were now seen; and the time drawing near when Captain Cook was anxious to be on the coast of America, he did not stop to explore the rest of the group, but confined himself to determining the position and delineating the coasts of these.

The attempts to effect a passage to the northward of America had hitherto been made from the east, but Captain Cook was now about to attempt it from the west. In compliance with his instructions, he arrived on the western coast



of North America in lat.  $45^{\circ}$  N. The attention of Captain Cook, in his progress along the coast, was particularly directed to the discovery of the Strait of San Juan de Fuca. Observing the opening to the southward of Vancouver's Island, he named the southern point of it Cape Flattery, from the prospect it afforded of being this strait, from whence he continued along the coast, and put into Nootka Sound. A particular sketch of this sound was made, and the attention bestowed on the delineation of the coast, was sufficient to define its hitherto unknown limits; the care which Captain Cook paid to this particular, led him to believe that no strait could possibly exist.

Proceeding from Nootka Sound to the northward, the ships were unable, from the state of the weather, to keep near the shore, until they arrived on the coast at Cape Mount Edgcumbe, in lat.  $57^{\circ} 3'$  N., from whence they continued coasting, and put into Prince William's Sound. The shore here was critically examined, as well as in Cook's Inlet afterwards. Continuing their route along the coast of Alaska, the ships put into the harbour in the island of Oonalashka, the various islands and points having been named as they were passed. As no time was to be lost, they immediately proceeded to the northward, ranging along the shore of Bristol Bay. Passing Cape Newenham, the northern point of this bay, they were obliged to stand to the westward, in order to avoid shoal water extending off the coast. After naming Point Rodney, the ships arrived at the western extremity of North America, which was named Cape Prince of Wales. With a view to determine the absolute width of Behring's Strait, the ships proceeded across to the Asiatic shore, passing the small islands which lie in the middle, and came to an anchorage in St. Lawrence Bay. From thence they recrossed the strait, and after naming Cape Lisburne and Icy Cape, on the American shore, penetrated to the north as far as lat.  $70^{\circ} 44'$  N., on the 18th of August, 1778. This was the highest latitude attained, although some days were passed in fruitless exertions to get further to the northward through the ice. The main object of the voyage being relinquished for the present season, they returned along the coast of Asia, fixing the position of North Cape and Cape

East, which latter name was bestowed on its eastern extremity in lat.  $66^{\circ} 6' N$ . The ships again visited St. Lawrence Bay, Captain Cook being anxious to find a convenient anchorage to which he might resort in the ensuing spring, after which Norton Sound, on the American coast, was explored. Here terminated the arduous labours of this expedition in Behring's Strait; and having determined the situation of Clarke's Island, now called Isle St. Lawrence, they returned to the harbour in the island of Oonalashka, which place they quitted for the Sandwich Islands in October, 1778. They shortly arrived at Atooi, the north-eastern of these islands, and proceeded to Owhyhee, where the unhappy event occurred which deprived the British navy of its brightest ornament, and the world of a useful citizen.

Thus for the first time were the proper limits assigned to Bering's Strait, and the adjacent shores of America and Asia defined, besides an extent of 2,000 miles of the American coast. An attempt was made by the Russian Government in 1815 to effect a north-east passage through Behring's Strait. Lieutenant Kotzebue, who was despatched for this purpose with a single vessel, the *Rurick*, obtained much credit for the manner in which he conducted the voyage, although his researches to the northward of the Strait were limited to a large inlet, lying between Cape Prince of Wales and Cape Lisburne, which had not been noticed by Captain Cook. This he named Kotzebue Sound, and the land forming the northernmost point of it Cape Kruzenstern. The highest northern latitude obtained by Captain Cook was  $70^{\circ} 44'$  (by reckoning), but Captain Beechy was more successful, and in 1827 reached as far as  $71^{\circ} 25'$  in long.  $156^{\circ} W.$ , by which means a space of about 150 miles of coast only remained unexplored between Point Barrow, the north-east point reached by Captain Beechy, and Point Beechy, the north-west limit of Captain Sir John Franklin's land expeditions from the mouth of McKenzie's River. The work of exploration on this side has been nobly completed by the late Sir Robert McClure, who forged the missing link between Beechy's farthest on one side and Franklin's on the other. Still, almost the entire area within the eightieth degree of north latitude, including the portion north of Behring's

Strait, between  $150^{\circ}$  E. and  $130^{\circ}$  W. long., is unexplored, and the aggregate of this vast area is computed to be not less than 2,400,000 square miles—an expanse which cannot fail to afford a great field for scientific research. The highest latitude yet reached was attained by the steamer *Polaris*, under the command of Captain C. F. Hall, of the United States Navy. She left Disco on the 17th of August, 1871, and, after touching at Upernivik and Tussuisak for dogs and skin clothing, proceeded, on the 24th of August, directly to the north, and passed through Smith Sound and Kennedy Channel with little or no obstruction from the ice. Pursuing her course still northward, she entered Robeson Channel, which was found to be from twenty-five to thirty miles in width, with high land on either side; and on the 30th of August she reached, as already stated, the highest latitude made— $82^{\circ} 16'$  N. At this point the course of the *Polaris* was effectually checked by heavy floating ice, which extended entirely across the Strait; but to the north was open water, and altogether a milder climate than has been found in more southern positions. Indeed, it is believed by scientific men that the prevalent temperature at the Pole is milder than that of the frozen circle which surrounds it, just as parts of the equatorial belt are more temperate than the tropics; so that it is possible the region round the North Pole may prove to be one vast watery or unfrozen centre of an encompassing frozen circle.

The news of the success attending the attempt to push beyond the highest latitude yet attained by our flag, and still more the intelligence of the discovery on the  $80^{\circ}$  parallel of Franz Josef Land, by Lieutenants Weyprecht and Payer, of the Austrian navy, fired the national emulation, and induced a Conservative Government to reverse the unwise decision of their Liberal predecessors, and launch from our shores an expedition in every way better fitted than any of its precursors. We may anticipate, without being over sanguine that the nation whose seamen discovered the magnetic Pole, explored the Arctic and Antarctic regions, and solved the question of the North-West Passage, which for three centuries had defied the attempts of explorers of every nation, will also plant the Union Jack, that glorious emblem

of England's sovereignty, on that mysterious point of the earth's surface, the North Pole, upon which the popular mind is bent, though it forms by no means the chief object of the expedition. That Captain Nares and his gallant band of officers and men, upon whom the eyes of their countrymen, and of the whole civilised world, are fixed, will succeed in winning the "blue riband" of geographical research, is the earnest hope, of every patriotic Briton. It would be indeed were it otherwise after more than three centuries of explorations, during which much treasure and hundreds of lives have been sacrificed.

In the preceding pages we have given a brief survey of the work of many great explorers ; but while the value and extent of Captain Cook's additions to our knowledge of the Polar regions have been equalled by the contributions of other seamen, he stands pre-eminent as the greatest and most renowned circumnavigator that this or any other country has produced. While other explorers discovered unknown lands and islands, only to sail away after sighting them, Captain Cook determined their insularity, or otherwise fixed their position on the chart, and surveyed them as far as time and circumstances would permit. With him the merely vulgar thirst for fame as a discoverer gave place to a determination to make a scientific and methodical survey of the coasts and seas he traversed, and record a full ethnological description of the races inhabiting the countries and islands he visited.

It may with truth be said that, in the long roll of illustrious naval heroes, whose deeds have illumined the pages of this country's annals, few there are who have better earned a niche in the temple of fame, and a place in the hearts of their countrymen, than the intrepid seaman, scientific officer, and accomplished navigator, Captain James Cook.

THE END.